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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

FROM
THE REVOLUTION
TO
THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

(Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.)

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

VOL. II.

BASIL:

Printed and sold by J. J. TOURNEISEN.

MDCCXCIII.

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34 (Elanta braun)
mit grünem Schild

Smollett
History of
England

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Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

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§ I. **W**HEN the King opened the session of parliament on the third day of December, he told them the war was brought to the end they all proposed, namely, an honorable peace. He gave them to understand there was a considerable debt on account of the fleet and army: that the revenues of the crown had been anticipated: he expressed his hope, that they would provide for him during his life, in such a manner as would conduce to his own honor, and

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that of the government. He recommended the maintenance of a considerable navy; and gave it as his opinion, that for the present England could not be safe without a standing army. He promised to rectify such corruptions and abuses as might have crept into any part of the administration during the war; and effectually to discourage profaneness and immorality. Finally, he assured them, that as he had rescued their religion, laws, and liberties, when in the extremest danger, so he should place the glory of his reign in preserving and leaving them entire to latest posterity. To this speech the Commons replied in an address, by a compliment of congratulation upon the peace, and an assurance, that they would be ever ready to assist and support his Majesty, who had confirmed them in the quiet possession of their rights and liberties, and by putting an end to the war fully completed the work of their deliverance. Notwithstanding these appearances of good-humor, the majority of the House, and indeed of the whole nation, were equally alarmed and exasperated at a project for maintaining a standing army, which was countenanced at court, and even recommended by the King, in his speech to the parliament. William's genius was altogether military. He could not bear the thoughts of being a king without power. He could not without reluctance dismiss those officers who had given so many proofs of their courage and fidelity. He did not think himself safe upon the naked throne, in a kingdom that swarmed with malecontents, who had so often conspired against his person and government. He dreaded

the ambition and known perfidy of the French King, who still retained a powerful army. He foresaw that a reduction of the forces would lessen his importance both at home and abroad; diminish the dependence upon his government; and disperse those foreigners in whose attachment he chiefly confided. He communicated his sentiment on this subject to his confident, the Earl of Sunderland, who knew by experience the aversion of the people to a standing army; nevertheless, encouraged him with hope of success, on the supposition that the Commons would see the difference between an army raised by the King's private authority, and a body of veteran troops maintained by consent of parliament for the security of the kingdom. This was a distinction to which the people paid no regard. All the jealousy of former parliaments seemed to be roused by the bare proposal; and this was inflamed by a national prejudice against the refugees, in whose favor the King had betrayed repeated marks of partial indulgence. They were submissive, tractable, and wholly dependent upon his will and generosity. The Jacobites failed not to cherish the seeds of satisfaction, and reproach the Whigs who countenanced this measure. They branded that party with apostasy from their former principles. They observed, that the very persons who in the late reigns endeavoured to abridge the prerogative, and deprive the King of that share of power which was absolutely necessary to actuate the machine of government, were now become advocates for maintaining a standing army in time of peace; nay, and imprudently

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avowed, that their complaisance to the court in this particular was owing to their desire of excluding from all share in the administration a faction disaffected to his Majesty, which might mislead him into more pernicious measures. The majority of those who really entertained revolution-principles opposed the court, from apprehensions that a standing army once established would take root, and grow into an habitual maxim of government; that, should the people be disarmed, and the sword left in the hands of mercenaries, the liberties of the nation must be entirely at the mercy of him by whom those mercenaries should be commanded. They might overawe elections, dictate to parliaments, and establish a tyranny, before the people could take any measures for their own protection. They could not help thinking it was possible to form a militia, that with the concurrence of a fleet might effectually protect the kingdom from the dangers of an invasion. They firmly believed, that a militia might be regularly trained to arms, so as to acquire the dexterity of professed soldiers; and they did not doubt they would surpass those hirelings in courage, considering that they would be animated by every concurring motive of interest, sentiment, and affection. Nay, they argued, that Britain, surrounded as it was by a boisterous sea, secured by floating bulwarks, abounding with stout and hardy inhabitants, did not deserve to be free, if her sons could not protect their liberties without the assistance of mercenaries, who were indeed the only slaves of the kingdom. Yet, among the genuine friends of their country, some individuals

espoused the opposite maxims. They observed that the military system of every government in Europe was now altered: that war was become a trade, and discipline a science not to be learned but by those who made it their sole profession: that, therefore, while France kept up a large standing army of veterans, ready to embark on the opposite coast, it would be absolutely necessary, for the safety of the nation, to maintain a small standing force, which would be voted in parliament from year to year. They might have suggested another expedient, which in a few years would have produced a militia of disciplined men. Had the soldiers of this small standing army been enlisted for a term of year, at the expiration of which they might have claimed their discharge, volunteers would have offered themselves from all parts of the kingdom, even from the desire of learning the use and exercise of arms, the ambition of being concerned in scenes of actual service, and the chagrin of little disappointments or temporary disgusts, which yet would not have impelled them to enlist as soldiers on the common terms of perpetual slavery. In consequence of such a succession, the whole kingdom would soon have been stocked with members of a disciplined militia, equal, if not superior to any army of professed soldiers. But this scheme would have defeated the purpose of the government, which was more afraid of domestic foes than of foreign enemies; and industriously avoided every plan of this nature, which could contribute to render the malecontents of the nation more formidable.

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§ II. Before we proceed to the transactions of parliament in this session, it may not be amiss to sketch the out-lines of the ministry, as it stood at this juncture. The King's affection for the Earl of Portland had begun to abate, in proportion as his esteem for Sunderland increased, together with his consideration for Mrs. Villiers, who had been distinguished by some particular marks of his Majesty's favor. These two favorites are said to have supplanted Portland, whose place in the King's bosom was now filled by Van Keppel, a gentleman of Guelderland, who had first served his Majesty as a page, and afterwards acted as private secretary. The Earl of Portland growing troublesome, from his jealousy of this rival, the King resolved to send him into honorable exile, in quality of an ambassador extraordinary to the court of France; and Trumball, his friend and creature, was dismissed from the office of secretary, which the King conferred upon Vernon, a plodding man of business, who had acted as under-secretary to the Duke of Shrewsbury. This nobleman rivalled the Earl of Sunderland in his credit at the council-board, and was supported by Somers, Lord-Chancellor of England, by Russel, now Earl of Orford, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Somers was an upright judge, a plausible statesman, a consummate courtier, affable, mild, and insinuating. Orford appears to have been rough, turbulent, factious, and shallow. Montague had distinguished himself early by his poetical genius; but he soon converted his attention to the cultivation of more solid talents. He rendered himself remarkable for his eloquence,

discernment, and knowledge of the English constitution. To a delicate taste, he united an eager appetite for political studies. The first catered for the enjoyments of fancy: the other was subservient to his ambition. He, at the same time, was the distinguished encourager of the liberal arts, and the professed patron of projectors. In his private deportment he was liberal, easy, and entertaining: as a statesman, bold, dogmatical, and aspiring.

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§ III. The terros of a standing army had produced such an universal ferment in the nation, that the dependents of the court in the House of Commons durst not openly oppose the reduction of the forces: but they shifted the battery, and employed all their address in persuading the House to agree, that a very small number should be retained. When the Commons voted, That all the forces raised since the year one thousand six hundred and eighty should be disbanded, the courtiers desired the vote might be re-committed, on pretence that it restrained the King to the old Tory-regiments, on whose fidelity he could not rely. This motion, however, was overruled by a considerable majority. Then they proposed an amendment, which was rejected, and afterwards moved, That the sum of five hundred thousand pounds per annum should be granted for the maintenance of guards and garrisons. This provision would have maintained a very considerable number; but they were again disappointed, and fain to embrace a composition with the other party, by which three hundred and fifty thousand pounds were allotted for the maintenance of ten thousand men; and

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they afterwards obtained an addition of three thousand marines. The King was extremely mortified at these resolutions of the Commons; and even declared to his particular friends, that he would never have intermeddled with the affairs of the nation, had he foreseen they would make such returns of ingratitude and distrust. His displeasure was aggravated by the resentment expressed against Sunderland, who was supposed to have advised the unpopular measure of retaining a standing army. This nobleman, dreading the vengeance of the Commons, resolved to avert the fury of the impending storm, by resigning his office, and retiring from court, contrary to the intreaties of his friends, and the earnest desire of his Majesty.

§ IV. The House of Commons, in order to sweeten the unpalatable cup they had presented to the King, voted the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds per annum for the support of the civil list, distinct from all other services. Then they passed an act prohibiting the currency of silvered hammered coin, including a clause for making out new Exchequer bills, in lieu of those which were or might be filled up with endorsements: they framed another to open the correspondence with France, under variety of provisos: a third for continuing the imprisonment of certain persons who had been concerned in the late conspiracy: a fourth granting further time for administering oaths with respect to tallies and orders in the Exchequer and Bank of England. These bills having received the royal assent, they resolved to grant a supply, which, together with the funds already settled for that purpose, should be sufficient

to answer and cancel all Exchequer-bills, to the amount of two millions seven hundred thousand pounds. Another supply was voted for the payment and reduction of the army, including half-pay to such commission officers as were natural-born subjects of England. They granted one million four hundred thousand pounds, to make good deficiencies. They resolved, That the sum of two millions three hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and two pounds was necessary to pay off arrears, subsistence, contingencies, general-officers, guards, and garrisons, of which sum eight hundred and fifty-five thousand five hundred and two pounds remained in the hands of the paymaster. Then they took into consideration the subsidies due to foreign powers, and the sums owing to contractors for bread and forage. Examining further the debts of the nation, they found the general debt of the navy amounted to one million three hundred and ninety-two thousand, seven hundred and forty-two pounds. That of the Ordnance was equal to two hundred and four thousand, one hundred and fifty-seven pounds. The transport-debt contracted for the reduction of Ireland, and other services, did not fall short of four hundred and sixty-six thousand, four hundred and ninety-three pounds; and they owed nine-and-forty thousand, nine hundred and twenty-nine pounds, for quartering and clothing the army, which had been raised by one act of parliament in the year 1677, and disbanded by another in the year 1679. As this enormous load of debt could not be discharged at once, the Commons passed a number of votes for

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raising sums of money, by which it was considerably lightened; and settled the funds for those purposes by the continuation of the land-tax and other impositions. With respect to the civil list, it was raised by a new subsidy of tonnage and poundage, the hereditary and temporary excise, a weekly portion from the revenue of the post-office, the first-fruits and tenths of the clergy, the fines in the alienation-office, and post-fines, the revenue of the wine-licence, money arising by sheriffs, proffers, and compositions in the Exchequer, and seizures, the income of the duchy of Cornwall, the rents of all other crown-lands in England or Wales, and the duty of four and a half per cent. upon specie from Barbadoes and the Leeward-islands. The bill imported, That the overplus arising from these funds should be accounted for to parliament. Six hundred thousand pounds of this money was allotted for the purposes of the civil list: the rest was granted for the jointure of fifty thousand pounds per annum, to be paid to Queen Mary of Este, according to the stipulation at Ryswick; and to maintain a court for the Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne of Denmark, now in the ninth year of his age: but the jointure was never paid; nor would the King allow above fifteen thousand pounds per annum for the use of the Duke of Gloucester, to whom Burnet Bishop of Salisbury was appointed preceptor.

§ V. The Commons having discussed the ways and means for raising the supplies of the ensuing year, which rose almost to five millions, took cognizance of some fraudulent endorsements of Exchequer-bills, a species of forgery which had been practised by a confederacy, consisting of Charles Duncomb,

receiver-general of the Excise, Bartholomew Burton, who possessed a place in that branch of the revenue, John Knight, treasurer of the Customs, and Reginald Marriot, a deputy-teller of the Exchequer. This last became evidence, and the proof turning out very strong and full, the House resolved to make examples of the delinquents¹. Duncomb and Knight, both members of parliament, were expelled, and committed to the Tower: Burton was sent to Newgate; and bills of pains and penalties were ordered to be brought against them. The first, levelled at Duncomb, passed the Lower-House, though not without great opposition: but was rejected in the House of Lords by the majority of one voice. Duncomb, who was extremely rich, is said to have paid dear for his escape. The other two bills met with the same fate. The Peers discharged Duncomb from his confinement: but he was re-committed by the Commons, and remained in custody till the end of the session. While the Commons were employed on ways and means, some of the members in the opposition proposed, that one fourth part of the money arising from improper grants of the crown should be appropriated to the service of the public, but this was a very unpalatable expedient, as it affected not only the Whigs of King William's reign, but also the Tories who had been gratified by Charles II. and his brother. A great number of petitions were presented against this measure, and so many difficulties raised, that both parties agreed to lay it aside. In the course of

¹ Burnet. Kennet. State-Tr. & Burchet. Lives of the Admirals. Tindal. Ralph. Voltaire.

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this inquiry, they discovered that one Railton held a grant in trust for Mr. Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer. A motion was immediately made, that he should withdraw; but passed in the negative by a great majority. Far from prosecuting this minister, the House voted it was their opinion, That Mr. Montague, for his good services to the government, did deserve his Majesty's favor.

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§ VI. This extraordinary vote was a sure presage of success in the execution of a scheme which Montague had concerted against the East-India company. They had been founded about advancing a sum of money for the public service, by way of loan, in consideration of a parliamentary settlement; and they offered to raise seven hundred thousand pounds on that condition: but, before they formed this resolution, another body of Merchants, under the auspices of Montague, offered to lend two millions at eight per cent. provided they might be gratified with an exclusive privilege of trading to the East-Indies. This proposal was very well received by the majority in the House of Commons. A bill for this purpose was brought in, with additional clauses of regulation. A petition was presented by the old company, representing their rights and claims under so many royal charters; the regard due to the property of above a thousand families interested in the stock: as also to the company's property in India, amounting to forty-four thousand pounds of yearly revenue. They alleged they had expended a million in fortifications, that during the war they had lost twelve great ships, worth fifteen hundred thousand pounds: that since

the last subscription they had contributed two hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds to the Customs, with above eighty-five thousand pounds in taxes: that they had furnished six thousand barrels of gunpowder on a very pressing occasion; and eighty thousand pounds for the circulation of Exchequer bills, at a very critical juncture, by desire of the Lords of the Treasury, who owned that their compliance was a very important service to the government. No regard being paid to their remonstrance, they undertook to raise the loan of two millions, and immediately subscribed two hundred thousand pounds as the first payment. The two proposals being compared and considered by the House, the majority declared for the bill, which was passed, and sent up to the House of Lords. There the old company delivered another petition, and was heard by counsel; nevertheless, the bill made its way, though not without opposition, and a formal protestation by one-and-twenty lords, who thought it was a hardship upon the present company; and doubted whether the separate trade allowed in the bill, concurrent with a joint stock, might not prove such an inconsistency as would discourage the subscription. This act, by which the old company was dissolved, in a great measure blasted the reputation of the Whigs, which had for some time been in the decline with the people. They had stood up as advocates for a standing army; they now unjustly superseded the East-India company: they were accused of having robbed the public by embezzling the national treasure, and amassing wealth by usurious contracts, at the expense of their fellow-subjects,

B O O K I. 1698. groaning under the most oppressive burdens. Certain it is, they were at this period the most mercenary and corrupt undertakers that ever had been employed by any king or administration since the first establishment of the English monarchy.

§ VII. The Commons now transferred their attention to certain objects in which the people of Ireland were interested. Colonel Mitchelborne, who had been joint governor of Londonderry with Dr. Walker, during the siege of that place, petitioned the House in behalf of himself, his officers, and soldiers, to whom a considerable sum of money was due for subsistence; and the city itself implored the mediation of the Commons with his Majesty, that its services and sufferings might be taken into consideration. The House having examined the allegations contained in both petitions, presented an address to the King, recommending the citizens of Londonderry to his Majesty's favor, that they might no longer remain a ruinous spectacle of all, a scorn to their enemies, and a discouragement to well-affected subjects: they likewise declared, that the governor and garrison did deserve some special marks of royal favor, for a lasting monument to posterity. To this address the King replied, that he would consider them, according to the desire of the Commons. William Molineux, a gentleman of Dublin, having published a book to prove that the kingdom of Ireland was independent of the parliament of England, the House appointed a committee to inquire into the cause and nature of this performance. An address was voted to the King, desiring he would give directions for the discovery
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and punishment of the author. Upon the report of the committee, the Commons in a body presented an address to his Majesty, representing the dangerous attempts which had been lately made by some of his subjects in Ireland, to shake off their subjection and dependence upon England; attempts which appeared not only from the bold and pernicious assertions contained in a book lately published, but more fully and authentically by some votes and proceedings of the Commons in Ireland. These had, during their last session, transmitted an act for the better security of his Majesty's person and government, whereby an English act of parliament was pretended to be re-enacted, with alterations obligatory on the courts of justice and the great seal of England. The English Commons, therefore, besought his Majesty to give effectual orders for preventing any such encroachments for the future, and the pernicious consequences of what was past, by punishing those who had been guilty thereof: that he would take care to see the laws which direct and restrain the parliament of Ireland punctually observed, and discourage every thing which might have a tendency to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England. This remonstrance was graciously received, and the King promised to comply with their request.

§ VIII. The jealousy which the Commons entertained of the government in Ireland animated them to take other measures, that ascertained the subjection of that kingdom. Understanding that the Irish had established divers woollen manufactures, they, in another address, intreated his Majesty to take

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measures for discouraging the woollen manufactures in Ireland, as they interfered with those of England, and promote the linen-manufacture, which would be profitable to both nations. At the same time, receiving information that the French had seduced some English manufacturers, and set up a great work for cloth-making in Picardy, they brought in a bill for explaining and better executing former acts for preventing the exportation of wool, fullers-earth, and scouring-clay; and this was immediately passed into a law. A petition being presented to the House, by the lustring-company, against certain merchants who had smuggled alamodes and lustrings from France, even during the war, the committee of trade was directed to inquire into the allegations; and all the secrets of this traffic were detected. Upon the report, the House resolved that the manufacture of alamodes and lustrings set up in England had been beneficial to the kingdom: that there had been a destructive and illegal trade carried on during the war, for importing these commodities, by which the King had been defrauded of his customs, and the English manufactures greatly discouraged: that, by the smuggling vessels employed in this trade, intelligence had been carried into France during the war, and the enemies of the government conveyed from justice. Stephen Seignoret, Rhéné Baudoin, John Goudet, Nicholas Santini, Peter de Hearse, John Pierce, John Dumaitre, and David Barreau were impeached at the bar of the House of Lords; and pleading guilty, the Lords imposed fines upon them, according to their respective circumstances. They were in the mean time

committed to Newgate, until those fines should be paid; and the Commons addressed the King, that the money might be appropriated to the maintenance of Greenwich-hospital. The House having taken cognizance of this affair, and made some new regulations in the prosecution of the African trade, presented a solemn address to the King, representing the general degeneracy and corruption of the age, and beseeching his Majesty to command all his judges, justices, and magistrates, to put the laws in execution against profaneness and immorality. The King professed himself extremely well pleased with this remonstrance, promised to give immediate directions for a reformation, and expressed his desire that some more effectual provision might be made for suppressing impious books, containing doctrines against the Trinity; doctrines which abounded at this period, and took their origin from the licence and profligacy of the times.

§ IX. In the midst of such immorality, Dr. Thomas Bray, an active divine, formed a plan for propagating the gospel in foreign countries. Missionaries, catechisms, liturgies, and other books for the instruction of ignorant people, were sent to the English colonies in America. This laudable design was supported by voluntary contribution; and the bill having been brought into the House of Commons, for the better discovery of estates given to superstitious uses, Dr. Bray presented a petition, praying, that some part of these estates might be set apart for the propagation of the reformed religion in Maryland, Virginia, and the Leeward islands. About this period, a

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society for the reformation of manners was formed under the King's countenance and encouragement. Considerable collections were made for maintaining clergymen to read prayers at certain hours in places of public worship, and administer the sacrament every Sunday. The members of this society resolved to inform the magistrates of all vice and immorality that should fall under their cognizance; and with that part of the fines allowed by law to the informer constitute a fund of charity. The business of the session being terminated, the King, on the third day of July, prorogued the parliament, after having thanked them, in a short speech, for the many testimonies of their affection he had received; and in two days after the prorogation it was dissolved².

§ X. In the month of January, the Earl of Portland had set out on his embassy to France, where he was received with very particular marks of distinction. He made a public entry into Paris with such magnificence as is said to have astonished the French nation. He interceded for the protestants in that Kingdom, against whom the persecution had been renewed with redoubled violence: he proposed that King James should be removed to Avignon, in which case his master would supply him with an honorable pension: but his remonstrances on both subjects proved ineffectual. Louis, however, in a private conference with

² On the fifth day of January, a fire breaking out at Whitehall, through the carelessness of a laundress, the whole body of the palace, together with the new gallery, council-chamber, and several adjoining apartments, was entirely consumed; but the banqueting house was not affected.

him at Marli, is supposed to have communicated his project of the partition-treaty. The Earl of Portland, at his return to England, finding himself totally eclipsed in the King's favor, by Keppel, now created Earl of Albemarle, resigned his employments in disgust; nor could the King's solicitations prevail upon him to resume any office in the household; though he promised to serve his Majesty in any other shape, and was soon employed to negotiate the treaty of partition. If this nobleman miscarried in the purposes of his last embassy at the court of Versailles, the agents of France were equally unsuccessful in their endeavours to retrieve their commerce with England, which the war had interrupted. Their commissary, sent over to London with powers to regulate the trade between the two nations, met with insuperable difficulties. The parliament had burdened the French commodities with heavy duties, which were already appropriated to different uses; and the channel of trade was in many respects entirely altered. The English merchants supplied the nation with wines from Italy, Spain, and Portugal; with linen from Holland and Silesia; and manufactures of paper, hats, stuffs, and silks, had been set up and successfully carried on in England, by the French refugees.

§ XI. By this time a ferment had been raised in Scotland, by the opposition and discouragements their new company had sustained. They had employed agents in England, Holland, and Hamburgh, to receive subscriptions. The adventurers in England were intimidated by the measures which had been

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taken in parliament against the Scottish company. The Dutch East-India company took the alarm, and exerted all their interest to prevent their countrymen from subscribing; and the King permitted his resident at Hamburgh to present a memorial against the Scottish company to the senate of that city. The parliament of Scotland being assembled by the Earl of Marchmont as King's commissioner, the company presented it with a remonstrance, containing a detail of their grievances, arising from the conduct of the English House of Commons, as well as from the memorial presented by the King's minister at Hamburgh, in which he actually disowned the act of parliament and letters-patent which had passed in their favor, and threatened the inhabitants of that city with his Majesty's resentment, in case they should join the Scots in their undertaking. They represented, that such instances of interposition had put a stop to the subscriptions in England and Hamburgh, hurt the credit of the company, discouraged the adventurers, and threatened the entire ruin of a design in which all the most considerable families of the nation were deeply engaged. The parliament having taken their case into consideration, sent an address to his Majesty, representing the hardships to which the company had been exposed, explaining how far the nation in general was concerned in the design, and intreating that he would take such measures as might effectually vindicate the undoubted rights and privileges of the company. This address was seconded by a petition from the company itself, praying, that his Majesty would give some intimation to the senate of Hamburgh,

permitting the inhabitants of that city to renew the subscriptions they had withdrawn: that, as a gracious mark of his royal favor to the company, he would bestow upon them two small frigates, then lying useless in the harbour of Burnt-Island; and that, in consideration of the obstructions they had encountered, he would continue their privileges and immunities for such longer time as should seem reasonable to his Majesty. Though the commissioner was wholly devoted to the King, who had actually resolved to ruin this company, he could not appease the resentment of the nation; and the heats in parliament became so violent, that he was obliged to adjourn it to the fifth day of November. In this interval, the directors of the company, understanding from their agent at Hamburgh that the address of the parliament, and their own petition, had produced no effect in their favor; they wrote a letter of complaint to the Lord Seafield, secretary of state, observing, that they had received repeated assurances of the King's having given orders to his resident at Hamburgh touching their memorial; and intreating the interposition of his lordship, that justice might be done to the company. The secretary, in his answer, promised to take the first convenient opportunity of representing the affair to his Majesty; but he said this could not be immediately expected, as the King was much engaged in the affairs of the English parliament. This declaration the directors considered, as it really was, a mere evasion, which helped to alienate the minds of that people from the King's person and government.

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§ XII. King William at this time revolved in his own mind a project of far greater consequence to the interest of Europe ; namely , that of settling the succession to the throne of Spain , which in a little time would be vacated by the death of Charles II. whose constitution was already exhausted. He had been lately reduced to extremity , and his situation was no sooner known in France , than Louis detached a squadron towards Cadix , with orders to intercept the plate-fleet , in case the King of Spain should die before its arrival. William sent another fleet to protect the galleons ; but it arrived too late for that service , and the nation loudly exclaimed against the tardiness of the equipment. His Catholic Majesty recovered from his disorder , contrary to the expectation of his people ; but continued in such an enfeebled and precarious state of health , that a relapse was every moment apprehended. In the latter end of July King William embarked for Holland , on pretence of enjoying a recess from business , which was necessary to his constitution. He was glad of an opportunity to withdraw himself for some time from a kingdom in which he had been exposed to such opposition and chagrin. But the real motive of his voyage , was a design of treating with the French King , remote from the observation of those who might have penetrated into the nature of his negociation. He had appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence , and as one of the number nominated the Earl of Marlborough , who had regained his favor , and been constituted governor of the Duke of Gloucester. At his Majesty's departure , sealed orders were left with the

ministry, directing, that sixteen thousand men should be retained in the service, notwithstanding the vote of the Commons, by which the standing army was limited to ten thousand. He alledged, that the apprehension of troubles which might arise at the death of King Charles induced him to transgress this limitation; and he hoped that the new parliament would be more favorable. His enemies, however, made a fresh handle of this step, to depreciate his character in the eyes of the people.

§ XIII. Having assisted at the assembly of the States-General, and given audience to divers ambassadors at the Hague, he repaired to his house at Loo, attended by the Earls of Essex, Portland, and Selkirk. There he was visited by Count Tallard, the French minister, who had instructions to negotiate the treaty concerning the Spanish succession. The Earl of Portland, by his Majesty's order, had communicated to Secretary Vernon the principal conditions which the French King proposed: he himself wrote a letter to Lord Chancellor Somers, desiring his advice with regard to the propositions, and full powers under the great seal, with blanks to be filled up occasionally, that he might immediately begin the treaty with Count Tallard. At the same time, he strictly enjoined secrecy. The purport of Portland's letter was imparted to the Duke of Shrewsbury and Mr. Montague, who consulted with the Chancellor and Vernon upon the subject; and the Chancellor wrote an answer to the King, as the issue of their joint deliberation: but, before it reached his Majesty, the first treaty of partition was signed by the Earl of Portland

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and Sir Joseph Williamson. The contracting powers agreed, That, in case the King of Spain should die without issue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places depending on the Spanish monarchy, and situated on the coast of Tuscany, or the adjacent islands, the marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa; all places on the French side of the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alva, or Biscay, on the other side of the province of Guipuscoa, with all the ships, vessels, and stores, should devolve upon the Dauphin, in consideration of his right to the crown of Spain, which, with all its other dependencies, should descend to the Elector Prince of Bavaria, under the guardianship of his father: That the duchy of Milan should be settled on the Emperor's second son, the Archduke Charles: That this treaty should be communicated to the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria by the King of England and the States-General: That if either should refuse to agree to this partition, his proportion should remain in sequestration, until the dispute could be accommodated: That in case the Electoral Prince of Bavaria should die before his father, then the Elector and his other heirs should succeed him in those dominions; and, should the Archduke reject the duchy of Milan, they agreed that it should be sequestered, and governed by the Prince of Vaudemont. It may be necessary to observe, that Philip IV. father to the present King of Spain, had settled his crown by will on the Emperor's children: that the Dauphin was son to Maria-Theresa, daughter of the same monarch, whose right to the succession Louis had renounced in the most solemn

manner: as for the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, he was grandson to a daughter of Spain. This treaty of partition was one of the most impudent schemes of encroachment that tyranny and injustice ever planned. Louis, who had made a practice of sacrificing all ties of honor and good faith to the interest of his pride, vanity and ambition, foresaw that he should never be able to accomplish his designs upon the crown of Spain, while William was left at liberty to form another confederacy against them. He, therefore, resolved to amuse him with a treaty, in which he should seem to act as umpire in the concerns of Europe. He knew that William was too much of a politician to be restricted by notions of private justice; and that he would make no scruple to infringe the laws of particular countries, or even the rights of a single nation, when the balance of power was at stake. He judged right in this particular. The King of England lent a willing ear to his proposals, and engaged in a plan for dismembering a kingdom, in despite of the natives, and in violation of every law human or divine.

§ XIV. While the French King cajoled William with this negociation, the Marquis d'Harcourt, his ambassador to Spain, was engaged in a game of a different nature at Madrid. The Queen of Spain, suspecting the designs of France, exerted all her interest in behalf of the King of the Romans, to whom she was nearly related. She new-modelled the council, bestowed the government of Milan on Prince Vaudemont, and established the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt as viceroy of Catalonia. Notwithstanding all her

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efforts, she could not prevent the French minister from acquiring some influence in the Spanish councils. He was instructed to procure the succession of the crown for one of the Dauphin's sons, or at least to hinder it from devolving upon the Emperor's children. With a view to give weight to his negociations, the French King ordered an army of sixty thousand men to advance towards the frontiers of Catalonia and Navarre, while a great number of ships and gallies cruised along the coast, and entered the harbours of Spain. Harcourt immediately began to form his party; he represented, that Philip IV. had no power to dispose of his crown, against the laws of nature and the constitution of the realm: that, by the order of succession, the crown ought to descend to the children of his daughter, in preference to more distant relations: that, if the Spaniards would declare in favor of the Dauphin's second son, the Duke of Anjou, they might train him up in the manners and customs of their country. When he found them averse to this proposal, he assured them his master would approve of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, rather than consent to the succession's devolving upon a son of the Emperor. Nay, he hinted, that if they would chuse a sovereign among themselves, they might depend upon the protection of his Most Christian Majesty, who had no other view than that of preventing the house of Austria from becoming too formidable to the liberties of Europe. The Queen of Spain having discovered the intrigues of this minister, conveyed the King to Toledo, on pretence that the air of Madrid was prejudicial to his health. Harcourt

immediately took the alarm. He supposed her intention was to prevail upon her husband, in his solitude, to confirm the last will of his father; and his doubts were all removed, when he understood that the Count de Harrach, the Imperial ambassador, had privately repaired to Toledo. He forthwith took the same road, pretending to have received a memorial from his master, with a positive order to deliver it into the King's own hand. He was given to understand, that the management of foreign affairs had been left to the care of Cardinal Corduba at Madrid, and that the King's health would not permit him to attend to business. The purport of the memorial was, an offer of French forces to assist in raising the siege of Ceuta in Barbary, which the Moors had lately undertaken: but this offer was civilly declined. Harcourt, not yet discouraged, redoubled his efforts at Madrid, and found means to engage Cardinal Portocarrero in the interests of his master. In the mean time Louis concluded an alliance with Sweden, under the pretext of preserving and securing the common peace, by such means as should be adjudged most proper and convenient. During these transactions, King William was not wanting in his endeavours to terminate the war of Hungary, which had raged fifteen years without intermission. About the middle of August, Lord Paget and Mr. Colliers, ambassadors from England and Holland, arrived in the Turkish camp near Belgrade; and a congress being opened under their mediation, the peace of Carlowitz was signed on the twenty-sixth day of January. By this treaty, the Emperor remained in possession of all his conquests:

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Caminiack was restored to the Poles: all the Morea, with several fortresses in Dalmatia, were ceded to the Venetians; and the Czar of Muscovy retained Azoph during a truce of two years; so that the Turks, by this pacification, lost great part of their European dominions. The Cardinal Primate of Poland, who had strenuously adhered to the Prince of Conti, was prevailed upon to acknowledge Augustus; and the commotions in Lithuania being appeased, peace was established through all Christendom.

§ XV. In the beginning of December the King arrived in England, where a new parliament had been chosen, and prorogued on account of his Majesty's absence, which was prolonged by contrary winds and tempestuous weather. His ministry had been at very little pains to influence the elections, which generally fell upon men of Revolution principles, though they do not seem to have been much devoted to the person of their sovereign: yet their choice of Sir Thomas Lyttelton for Speaker seemed to presage a session favorable to the ministry. The two Houses being convened on the sixth day of December, the King, in his speech, observed, that the safety, honor, and happiness of the kingdom would in a great measure depend upon the strength which they should think proper to maintain by sea and land. He desired they would make some further progress in discharging the national debt; contrive effectual expedients for employing the poor; pass good bills for the advancement of trade, and the discouragement of profanity; and act with unanimity and dispatch. The Commons of this new parliament

were so irritated at the King's presuming to maintain a greater number of troops than their predecessors had voted, that they resolved he should feel the weight of their displeasure. They omitted the common compliment of an address: they resolved that all the forces of England, in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith disbanded as also those in Ireland, exceeding twelve thousand; and that those retained should be his Majesty's natural-born subjects. A bill was brought in on these resolutions, and prosecuted with peculiar eagerness, to the unspeakable mortification of King William, who was not only extremely sensible of the affront, but also particularly chagrined to see himself disabled from maintaining his Dutch guards, and the regiments of French refugees, to which he was uncommonly attached. Before the meeting of the parliament, the ministry gave him to understand, that they should be able to procure a vote for ten or twelve thousand; but they would not undertake for a greater number. He professed himself dissatisfied with the proposal, observing, that they might as well disband the whole, as leave so few. The ministers would not run the risque of losing all their credit, by proposing a greater number; and, having received no directions on this subject, sat silent when it was debated in the House of Commons.

§ XVI. Such was the indignation of William, kindled by this conduct of his ministry and his parliament, that he threatened to abandon the government; and had actually penned a speech to be pronounced to both Houses on that occasion: but he was diverted

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from his purpose by his ministry and confidents, and resolved to pass the bill by which he had been so much offended. Accordingly, when it was ready for the royal assent, he went to the House of Peers, where having sent for the Commons, he told them, that, although he might think himself unkindly used, in being deprived of his guards, which had constantly attended him in all his actions: yet, as he believed nothing could be more fatal to the nation than any distrust or jealousy between him and his parliament, he was come to pass the bill, according to their desire. At the same time, for his own justification, and in discharge of the trust reposed in him, he declared, that in his own judgment the nation was left too much exposed; and that it was incumbent upon them to provide such a strength as might be necessary for the safety of the kingdom. They thanked him, in an address, for this undeniable proof of his readiness to comply with the desires of his parliament. They assured him, he should never have reason to think the Commons were undutiful or unkind; for they would on all occasions, stand by, and assist, him in the preservation of his sacred person, and in the support of his government, against all his enemies whatsoever. The Lords presented an address to the same effect; and the King assured both Houses, he entertained no doubts of their loyalty and affection. He forthwith issued orders for reducing the army to the number of seven thousand men, to be maintained in England under the name of guards and garrisons; and, hoping the hearts of the Commons were now mollified, he made another effort in favor of
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of his Dutch guards, whom he could not dismiss without the most sensible regret. Lord Ranelagh was sent with a written message to the Commons, giving them to understand, that the necessary preparations were made for transporting the guards who came with him into England, and that they should embark immediately, unless, out of consideration to him, the House should be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in the service; a favor which his Majesty would take very kindly. The Commons, instead of complying with his inclination, presented an address, in which they professed unspeakable grief, that he should propose any thing to which they could not consent with due regard to the constitution; which he had come over to restore, and so often hazarded his royal person to preserve. They reminded him of the declaration, in which he had promised that all the foreign forces should be sent out of the kingdom. They observed, that nothing conduced more to the happiness and welfare of the nation, than an entire confidence between the King and people, which could no way be so firmly established as by intrusting his sacred person with his own subjects, who had so eminently signalized themselves during the late long and expensive war. They received a soothing answer to this address, but remained firm to their purpose, in which the King was fain to acquiesce; and the Dutch guards were transported to Holland. At a time when they declared themselves so well pleased with their deliverer, such an opposition, in an affair of very little consequence, favoured more of clownish obstinacy than of patriotism. In the midst

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of all their professions of regard, they entertained a national prejudice against himself, and all the foreigners in his service. Even in the House of Commons his person was treated with great disrespect in virulent insinuations. They suggested, that he neither loved nor trusted the English nation: that he treated the natives with the most disagreeable reserve; and chose his confidants from the number of strangers that surrounded him: that, after every session of parliament, he retired from the kingdom, to enjoy an indolent and inglorious privacy with a few favorites. These suggestions were certainly true. He was extremely disgusted with the English, whom he considered as malicious, ignorant, and ungrateful, and he took no pains to disguise his sentiments.

§ XVII. The Commons having effected a dissolution of the army, voted fifteen thousand seamen, and a proportionable fleet for the security of the kingdom: they granted one million, four hundred and eighty-four thousand fifteen pounds, for the services of the year, to be raised by a tax of three shillings in the pound upon lands, personal estates, pensions, and offices. A great number of priests and Roman catholics, who had been frightened away by the Revolution, were now encouraged by the treaty of Ryswick to return, and appeared in all public places of London and Westminster, with remarkable effrontery. The enemies of the government whispered about, that the treaty contained a secret article in favor of those who professed that religion; and some did not even scruple to insinuate, that William was a papist in his heart. The Commons, alarmed at the

number and insolence of those religionists, desired the King, in an address, to remove by proclamation all papists and nonjurors from the city of London and parts adjacent, and put the laws in execution against them, that the wicked designs they were always hatching might be effectually disappointed. The King gratified them in their request of a proclamation, which was not much regarded: but a remarkable law was enacted against papists in the course of the ensuing session. The old East-India company, about this period, petitioned the Lower House, to make some provision that their corporation might subsist for the residue of the term of twenty-one years, granted by his Majesty's charter: that the payment of the five pounds per cent. by the late act for settling the trade to the East-Indies, might be settled and adjusted in such a manner, as not to remain a burden on the petitioners; and that such further considerations might be had for their relief, and for the preservation of the East-India trade, as should be thought reasonable. A bill was brought in upon the subject of this petition; but rejected at the second reading. Discontents had risen to such a height, that some members began to assert, they were not bound to maintain the votes and credit of the former parliament; and, upon this maxim, would have contributed their interest towards a repeal of the act made in favor of the new company: but such a scheme was of too dangerous consequence to the public credit, to be carried into execution.

§ XVIII. That spirit of peevishness which could

¹ Burnet. Kennet. Lamberty. State-Tracts. Tindal. Ralph.

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* About the latter end of March the Earl of Warwick and Lord Mohun were tried by their peers in Westminster-hall, for the murder of Captain Richard Coote, who had been killed in a midnight-combat of three on each side. Warwick was found guilty of manslaughter, and Mohun acquitted.

Villers, Earl of Jersey, who had been sent ambassador to France, was appointed secretary of state, in the room of the Duke of Shrewsbury. This nobleman was created lord-chamberlain: the Earl of Manchester was sent ambassador extraordinary to France: the Earl of Pembroke was declared lord-president of the council; and Lord Viscount Lonsdale keeper of the privy-seal.

† Consisting of the Lord-Chancellor, the Lord-President, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord Steward of the Household, the Earl of Bridgewater, first commissioner of the Admiralty, the Earl of Marlborough, the Earl of Jersey, and Mr. Montague.

§ XIX. In Ireland nothing of moment was transacted. The parliament of that kingdom passed an act for raising one hundred and twenty thousand pounds on lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to defray the expense, of maintaining twelve thousand men who had been voted by the Commons of England: then the assembly was prorogued. A new commission afterwards arrived at Dublin, constituting the Duke of Bolton, the Earls of Berkley and Galway, lords-justices of Ireland. The clamor in Scotland increased against the ministry, who had disowned their company, and in a great measure defeated the design from which they had promised themselves such heaps of treasure. Notwithstanding the discouragements to which their company had been exposed, they fitted out two of four large ships which had been built at Hamburgh for their service. These were laden with a cargo for traffic, with some artillery and military stores; and the adventurers embarking, to the number of twelve hundred, they sailed from the frith of Edinburgh, with some tenders, on the seventeenth day of July in the preceding year. At Madeira they took in a supply of wine, and then steered to Crab-island, in the neighbourhood of St. Thomas, lying between Santa Cruz and Porto Rico. Their design was to take possession of this little island; but, when they entered the road, they saw a large tent pitched upon the strand, and the Danish colors flying. Finding themselves anticipated in this quarter, they directed their course to the coast of Darien, where they treated with the natives for the establishment of their colony, and taking possession of the

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ground, to which they gave the name of Caledonia, began to execute their plan of erecting a town under the appellation of New Edinburgh, by the direction of their council, consisting of Patterfson the projector, and six other directors. They had no sooner completed their settlement, than they wrote a letter to the King, containing a detail of their proceedings. They pretended they had received undoubted intelligence, that the French intended to make a settlement on that coast; and that their colony would be the means of preventing the evil consequences which might arise to his Majesty's kingdom and dominions from the execution of such a scheme. They acknowledged his goodness in granting those privileges by which their company was established: they implored the continuance of his royal favor and protection, as they had punctually adhered to the conditions of the act of parliament and the patent they had obtained.

§ XX. By this time, however, the King was resolved to crush them effectually. He understood that the greater part of their provisions had been consumed before they set sail from Scotland, and foresaw that they must be reduced to a starving condition, if not supplied from the English colonies. That they might be debarred of all such assistance, he sent orders to the governors of Jamaica, and the other English settlements in America, to issue proclamations, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, all his Majesty's subjects from holding any correspondence with the Scottish colony, or assisting it, in any shape, with arms, ammunition, or provision, on pretence that they had not communicated their design to his

Majesty, but had peopled Darien; in violation of the peace subsisting between him and his allies. Their colony was, doubtless, a very dangerous encroachment upon the Spaniards, as it would have commanded the passage between Porto Bello and Panama, and divided the Spanish empire in America. The French King complained of the invasion, and offered to supply the court of Madrid with a fleet to dislodge the interlopers. Colonna, Marquis de Canales, the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, presented a memorial to King William, remonstrating against the settlement of this colony, as a mark of disregard, and a breach of the alliance between the two crowns; and declaring, that his master would take proper measures against such hostilities. The Scots affirmed, that the natives of Darien were a free people, whom the Spaniards had in vain attempted to subdue: that, therefore, they had an original and incontrovertible right to dispose of their own lands, part of which the company had purchased for a valuable consideration. But there was another cause more powerful than the remonstrances of the Spanish court, to which this colony fell a sacrifice; and that was, the jealousy of the English traders and planters. Darien was said to be a country abounding with gold, which would in a little time enrich the adventurers. The Scots were known to be an enterprising and pertinacious people; and their harbour near Golden-island was already declared a free-port. The English apprehended that their planters would be allured into this new colony, by the double prospect of finding gold, and plundering the Spaniards: that

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the buccaneers in particular would chuse it as their chief residence : that the plantations of England would be deserted : that Darien would become another Algiers ; and that the settlement would produce a rupture with Spain, in consequence of which the English effects in that kingdom would be confiscated. The Dutch, too, are said to have been jealous of a company, which in time might have proved their competitors in the illicit commerce to the Spanish main ; and to have hardened the King's heart against the new settlers, whom he abandoned to their fate, notwithstanding the repeated petitions and remonstrances of their constituents. Famine compelled the first adventurers to quit the coast : a second recruit of men and provisions was sent thither from Scotland : but, one of their ships, laden with provision, being burned by accident, they likewise deserted the place : another re-enforcement arrived, and being better provided than the two former, might have maintained their footing ; but they were soon divided into factions that rendered all their schemes abortive. The Spaniards advanced against them ; when, finding themselves incapable of withstanding the enemy, they solicited a capitulation, by virtue of which they were permitted to retire. Thus vanished all the golden dreams of the Scottish nation, which had engaged in this design with incredible eagerness, and even embarked a greater sum of money than ever they had advanced upon any other occasion. They were now not only disappointed in their expectations of wealth and affluence ; but a great number of families was absolutely ruined by the miscarriage of the

design, which they imputed solely to the conduct of King William. The whole kingdom of Scotland seemed to join in the clamor that was raised against their sovereign. They taxed him with double-dealing, inhumanity, and base ingratitude, to a people who had lavished their treasure and best blood in support of his government, and in the gratification of his ambition: and had their power been equal to their animosity, in all probability a rebellion would have ensued.

§ XXI. William, mean while, enjoyed himself at Loo, where he was visited by the Duke of Zell, with whom he had long cultivated an intimacy of friendship. During his residence in this place, the Earl of Portland and the Grand Pensionary of Holland frequently conferred with the French ambassador, Count Tallard, upon the subject of the Spanish succession. The first plan of the partition being defeated by the death of the young Prince of Bavaria, they found it necessary to concert another, and began a private negociation for that purpose. The court of Spain, apprized of their intention, sent a written remonstrance to Mr. Stanhope, the English minister at Madrid, expressing their resentment at this unprecedented method of proceeding, and desiring that a stop might be put to those intrigues, seeing the King of Spain would of himself take the necessary steps for preserving the public tranquillity, in case he should die without heirs of his body. A representation of the same kind was made to the ministers of France and Holland: the Marquis de Canales, the Spanish ambassador at London, delivered a memorial to the lords-

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justices, couched in the most virulent terms, against this transaction, and even appealing from the King to the parliament. This Spaniard was pleased with an opportunity to insult King William, who hated his person, and had forbid him the court, on account of his appearing covered in his Majesty's presence. The regency had no sooner communicated this paper to the King, than he ordered the ambassador to quit the kingdom in eighteen days, and to remain within his own house till the time of his departure. He was likewise given to understand, that no writing would be received from him or any of his domestics. Mr. Stanhope was directed to complain at Madrid of the affront offered to his master, which he styled an insolent and saucy attempt to stir up sedition in the kingdom, by appealing to the people and parliament of England against his Majesty. The court of Spain justified what their minister had done, and in their turn ordered Mr. Stanhope to leave their dominions. Don Bernardo de Quiros, the Spanish ambassador in Holland, prepared a memorial on the same subject, to the States-General; which, however, they refused to accept. These remonstrances did not interrupt the negociation, in which Louis was so eager, that he complained of William, as if he had not employed his whole influence in prevailing upon the Dutch to signify their accession to the articles agreed upon by France and England: but his Britannic Majesty found means to remove this jealousy.

§ XXII. About the middle of October William returned to England, and conferred upon the Duke

of Shrewsbury the offices of chamberlain, vacant since the resignation of Sunderland. Mr. Montague at the same period resigned his seat at the Treasury-board, together with the chancellorship of the Exchequer, either foreseeing uncommon difficulty in managing a House of Commons, after they had been dismissed in ill-humor, or dreading the interest of his enemies, who might procure a vote that his two places were inconsistent. The King opened the session of parliament, on the sixteenth day of November, with a long speech, advising a further provision for the safety of the kingdom by sea and land, as well as the repairs of ships and fortifications; exhorting the Commons to make good the deficiencies of the funds, discharge the debts of the nation, and provide the necessary supplies. He recommended some good bill for the more effectual preventing and punishing unlawful and clandestine trading; and expressed a desire, that some method should be taken for employing the poor, which were become a burden to the kingdom. He assured them, his resolutions were to countenance virtue and discourage vice: and that he would decline no difficulties and dangers, where the welfare and prosperity of the nation might be concerned. He concluded with these words; " Since
" then, our aims are only for the general good, let
" us act with confidence in one another; which will
" not fail, with God's blessing, to make me a happy
" king, and you a great and flourishing people." —
The Commons were now become wanton in their disgust. Though they had received no real provocation, they resolved to mortify him with their

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proceedings. They affected to put odious interpretations on the very harmless expression of, "Let us act with confidence in one another." Instead of an address of thanks, according to the usual custom, they presented a fullen remonstrance, complaining, that a jealousy and disgust had been raised of their duty and affection; and desiring he would show marks of his high displeasure towards all persons who had presumed to misrepresent their proceedings to his Majesty. He declared, in his answer, that no person had ever dared to misrepresent their proceedings, and, that if any should presume to impose upon him by such calumnies, he would treat them as his worst enemies.

§ XXIII. The House was not in a humor to be appeased with soothing promises and protestations: they determined to distress him, by prosecuting his ministers. During the war the colonies of North-America had grown rich by piracy. One Kidd, the master of a sloop, undertook to suppress the pirates, provided the government would furnish him with a ship of thirty guns, well manned. The board of Admiralty declaring that such a number of seamen could not be spared from the public service, Kidd was equipped by the private subscription of the Lord-Chancellor, the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Romney, Orford, and Bellamont, Sir Edward Harrison, and Colonel Livingstone, of New-York. The King promised to contribute one half of the expense, and reserved to himself one tenth of the profit; but he never advanced the money. Kidd being thus equipped, and provided with a commission to act against the French, as well as to make war on certain

pirates therein mentioned by name, set sail from Plymouth: but, instead of cruising on the coast of America, he directed his course to the East-Indies, where he himself turned pirate, and took a rich ship belonging to the Moors. Having divided his booty with his crew, ninety of whom left him, in order to join other adventurers, he burned his own ship and sailed with his prize to the West-Indies. There he purchased a sloop, in which he steered for North-America, leaving part of his men in the prize, to remain in one of the Leeward-islands, until they should receive further instructions. Arriving on the coast of New-York, he sent one Emmet to make his peace with the Earl of Bellamont, the governor of that province, who inveigled him into a negociation, in the course of which he was apprehended. Then his lordship sent an account of his proceedings to the secretary of state, desiring that he would send for the prisoners to England, as there was no law in that colony for punishing piracy with death, and the majority of the people favored that practice. The Admiralty, by order of the lords justices, dispatched the ship Rochester to bring home the prisoners and their effects: but, after having been tossed for some time with tempestuous weather, this vessel was obliged to return to Plymouth in a shattered condition. This incident furnished the malecontents with a color to paint the ministry as the authors and abettors of a piratical expedition, which they wanted to screen from the cognizance of the public. The old East-India company had complained to the regency of the capture made by Kidd in the East-Indies, apprehending,

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as the vessel belonged to the Moors, they should be exposed to the relentment of the Mogul. In the beginning of December, this subject being brought abruptly into the House of Commons, a motion was made, That the letters patent granted to the Earl of Bellamont and others, of pirates goods, were dishonourable to the King, against the laws of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of the land, invasive of property, and destructive of trade and commerce. A warm debate ensued, in the course of which, some members declaimed with great bitterness against the Chancellor and the Duke of Shrewsbury, as partners in a piratical scheme: but these imputations were refuted, and the motion was rejected by a great majority. Not but they might have justly stigmatized the expedition as a little mean adventure, in which those noblemen had embarked with a view to their own private advantage.

§ XXIV. While this affair was in agitation among the Commons, the attention of the Upper House was employed upon the case of Dr. Watson, Bishop of St. David's. This prelate was supposed to have paid a valuable consideration for his bishopric: and, after his elevation, had sold the preferments in his gift, with a view of being reimbursed. He was accused of simony; and, after a solemn hearing, before the Archbishop of Canterbury and six suffragans, convicted and deprived. Then he pleaded his privilege: so that the affair was brought into the House of Lords, who refused to own him as a peer after he had ceased to be a bishop. Thus disappointed, he had recourse to the court of delegates, by whom the Archbishop's sentence was confirmed. The next effort that the

Commons made, with a view of mortifying King William, was to raise a clamor against Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum. He was represented in the House as a very unfit preceptor for the Duke of Gloucester, both as a Scottish man, and author of that pastoral letter which had been burned by order of the parliament, for asserting that William had a right to the crown from conquest. A motion was made for addressing his Majesty, that this prelate might be dismissed from his employment, but rejected by a great majority. Burnet had acted with uncommon integrity in accepting the trust. He had declined the office, which he was in a manner forced to accept. He had offered to resign his bishopric, thinking the employment of a tutor would interfere with the duty of a pastor. He insisted upon the Duke's residence all the summer at Windsor, which is in the diocese of Sarum; and added to his private charities the whole income of his new office.

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§ XXV. The circumstance on which the anti-courtiers built their chief hope of distressing or disgracing the government, was the inquiry into the Irish forfeitures, which the King had distributed among his own dependents. The commissioners appointed by parliament to examine these particulars, were Annesley, Trenchard, Hamilton, Langford, the Earl of Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewster, and Sir Richard Leving. The first four were actuated by all the virulence of faction: the other three were secretly guided by ministerial influence. They began their inquiry in Ireland, and proceeded with such severity as seemed to flow rather from resentment to the court,

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than from a love of justice and abhorrence of corruption. They in particular scrutinized a grant of an estate which the King had made to Mrs. Villiers, now Countess of Orkney, so as to expose his Majesty's partiality for that favorite, and subject him to an additional load of popular odium. In the course of their examination, the Earl of Drogheda, Leving, and Brewster, opposed the rest of the commissioners in divers articles of the report, which they refused to sign, and sent over a memorial to the House of Commons, explaining their reasons for dissenting from their colleagues. By this time, however, they were considered as hirelings of the court, and no regard was paid to their representations. The others delivered their report, declaring that a million and a half of money might be raised from the sale of the confiscated estates; and a bill was brought in for applying them to the use of the public. A motion being made to reserve a third part for the King's disposal, it was over-ruled: then the Commons passed an extraordinary vote, importing, that they would not receive any petition from any person whatsoever concerning the grants; and that they would consider the great services performed by the commissioners appointed to inquire into the forfeited estates. They resolved, That the four commissioners who had signed the report had acquitted themselves with understanding, courage, and integrity; and That Sir Richard Leving, as author of groundless and scandalous aspersions cast upon his four colleagues, should be committed prisoner to the Tower. They afterwards came to the following resolution, which was presented to the King in form of an address;

That

That the procuring and passing those grants had occasioned great debts upon the nation, and heavy taxes upon the people, and highly reflected upon the King's honor; and, That the officers and instruments concerned in the same had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty. The King answered, That he was not only led by inclination, but thought himself obliged in justice to reward those who had served well in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to him by the rebellion in that kingdom. He observed, that as the long war had left the nation much in debt, their taking just and effectual ways for lessening that debt, and supporting public credit, was what, in his opinion, would best contribute to the honor, interest, and safety of the kingdom. This answer kindled a flame of indignation in the House. They forthwith resolved, That the adviser of it had used his utmost endeavours to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the King and his people.

§ XXVI. They prepared, finished, and passed a bill of resumption. They ordered the report of the commissioners, together with the King's promise and speeches, and the former resolutions of the House touching the forfeited estates in Ireland, to be printed and published for their justification; and they resolved, That the procuring or passing exorbitant grants by any member, now of the privy-council, or by any other that had been a privy-counsellor, in this, or any former reign, to his use or benefit, was a high crime and misdemeanour. That justice might be done to purchasers and creditors in the act of

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resumption, thirteen trustees were authorized and empowered to hear and determine all claims relating to those estates, to sell them to the best purchasers; and the money arising from the sale was appropriated to pay the arrears of the army. It passed under the title of a bill for granting an aid to his Majesty, by the sale of forfeited and other estates and interests in Ireland; and that it might undergo no alteration in the House of Lords, it was consolidated with the money-bill for the services of the year. In the House of Lords it produced warm debates; and some alterations were made, which the Commons unanimously rejected. They seemed to be now more than ever exasperated against the ministry, and ordered a list of the privy-council to be laid before the House. The Lords demanded conferences, which served only to exasperate the two Houses against each other; for the Peers insisted upon their amendments, and the Commons were so provoked at their interfering in a money-bill, that they determined to give a loose to their resentment. They ordered all the doors of their House to be shut, that no members should go forth. Then they took into consideration the report of the Irish forfeitures, with the list of the privy-counsellors; and a question was moved, That an address should be made to his Majesty, to remove John Lord Somers, Chancellor of England, from his presence and councils for ever. This, however, was carried in the negative by a great majority. The King was extremely chagrined at the bill, which he considered as an invasion of his prerogative, an insult on his person, and an injury to his friends and servants;

and he at first resolved to hazard all the consequences of refusing to pass it into a law: but he was diverted from his purpose by the remonstrances of those in whom he chiefly confided. He could not, however, dissemble his resentment. He became sullen, peevish, and morose; and his enemies did not fail to make use of this additional ill humor, as a proof of his aversion to the English people⁶. Though the motion against the Chancellor had miscarried, the Commons resolved to address his Majesty, that no person who was not a native of his dominions, except his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, should be admitted into his Majesty's councils in England or Ireland. This resolution was levelled against the Earls of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway: but, before the address could be presented, the King went to the House of Peers, and having passed the bill which had produced such a ferment, with some others, commanded the Earl of Bridgewater, Speaker of the House, in the absence of the Chancellor, who was indisposed, to prorogue the parliament to the twenty-third day of May.

§ XXVII. In the course of this session, the Commons having prosecuted their inquiry into the conduct of Kidd, brought in a bill for the more effectual suppressing of piracy, which passed into a law: understanding afterwards, that Kidd was brought over to England, they presented an address to the King, desiring that he might not be tried, discharged, or pardoned, till the next session of parliament; and his Majesty complied with their request.

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⁶ Burnet. Oldmixon. Cole's Mem. State - Tracts. Lamberty, Tindal. Ralph.

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Boiling still with indignation against the Lord-Chancellor, who had turned many disaffected persons out of the commission of the peace, the House ordered a bill to be prepared for qualifying justices of the peace; and appointed a committee to inspect the commissions. This reporting, that many dissenters and men of small fortunes, depending on the court, were put into those places, the Commons declared, in an address, That it would much conduce to the service of his Majesty, and the good of this kingdom, that gentlemen of quality and good estates should be restored, and put into the commissions of the peace and lieutenancy: and that men of small estates be neither continued, nor put into the said commissions. The King assured them he was of the same opinion: and that he would give directions accordingly. They were so mollified by this instance of his condescension, that they thanked him in a body for his gracious answer. They passed a bill to exculpate such as had neglected to sign the association, either through mistake, or want of opportunity. Having received a petition from the Lancashire clergy, complaining of the insolence and attempts of popish priests, they appointed a committee to inquire how far the laws against popish refugees had been put in execution; and upon the report a bill was brought in, complying with the prayer of the petition. It decreed a further reward to such persons as should discover and convict popish priests and jesuits; and perpetual imprisonment for those convicted on the oath of one or more witnesses. It enacted, That no person born after the twenty-fifth day of March next ensuing, being a papist, should be

capable of inheriting any title of honor or estate within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed; and, That no papist should be capable of purchasing any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, either in his own name, or in the name of any other person in trust for him. Several alterations were made in this first draft, before it was finished and sent up to the Lords, some of whom proposed amendments: these, however, were not adopted; and the bill obtained the royal assent, contrary to the expectation of those who prosecuted the measure, on the supposition that the King was a favorer of papists. After all, the bill was deficient in necessary clauses to enforce execution, so that the law was very little regarded in the sequel.

§ XXVIII. The court sustained another insult from the old East-India company, who petitioned the House that they might be continued by parliamentary authority during the remaining part of the time prescribed in their charter. They, at the same time, published a state of their case, in which they expatiated upon the equity of their claims, and magnified the injuries they had undergone. The new company drew up an answer to this remonstrance, exposing the corrupt practices of their adversaries. But the influence of their great patron, Mr. Montague, was now vanished: the supply was not yet discussed, and the ministry would not venture to provoke the Commons, who seemed propitious to the old company, and actually passed a bill in their favor. This meeting with no opposition in the Upper House, was enacted into a law, renewing their

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establishment : so that now there were two rival companies of merchants trading to the East-Indies. The Commons, not yet satisfied with the vexations to which they had exposed their sovereign, passed a bill to appoint commissioners for taking and examining the public accounts. Another law was made, to prohibit the use of India-silks and stuffs which interfered with the English manufactures: a third, to take off the duties on the exportation of woollen manufactures, corn, grain, meal, bread, and biscuit: and a fourth, in which provision was made for punishing governors, or commanders in chief of plantations and colonies, in case they should commit any crimes or acts of injustice and oppression in the exercise of their administration.

§ XXIX. The people of Scotland still continued in violent agitation. They published a pamphlet, containing a detail of their grievances, which they in a great measure ascribed to his Majesty. A complaint being preferred to the House of Commons against this performance, it was voted a false, scandalous, and traitorous libel, and ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The Commons addressed his Majesty, to issue his royal proclamation for apprehending the author, printer, and publisher of the said libel; and he complied with their request. The Scottish company had sent up an address to the King, in behalf of some adventurers who were wrongfully detained prisoners in Carthagenæ: but Lord Basil Hamilton, who undertook the charge of this petition, was refused admittance to his Majesty, on pretence of his being suspected of disaffection to the government. The King, however, wrote to his

council for Scotland, that he would demand the enlargement of the prisoners, and countenance any laudable measure that could advance the trade of that kingdom. The directors of the company, not content with this declaration, importuned their Lord Chancellor, who was in London, to procure access for Lord Basil Hamilton; and the ministry took shelter from their solicitations behind a parliamentary inquiry. The subject of the Scottish colony being introduced into the House of Lords, where the ministerial influence preponderated, a vehement debate arose, not from any regard to the interest of Scotland, but from mere opposition to the court, which, however, triumphed in the issue. A motion was made, that the settlement of the Scotch colony at Darien was inconsistent with the good of the plantation-trade of England; and passed in the affirmative by a small majority. Then they presented an address, declaring their sympathy with the losses of their fellow-subjects, and their opinion, that a prosecution of the design must end, not only in far greater disappointments to themselves, but also prove very inconvenient to the trade and quiet of the kingdom. They reminded him of the address of both Houses, touching that settlement; and they expressed their approbation of the orders he had sent to the governors of the plantations on this subject. The King, in his answer to the address, in which the Commons refused to concur, took the opportunity of exhorting them to consider of an union between the two kingdoms, as a measure, than which nothing could more contribute to their mutual security and advantage. The Lords,

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in pursuance of this advice, prepared a bill, appointing certain commissioners of the realm of England to treat with commissioners of Scotland for the weal of both kingdoms: but it was obstructed in the House of Commons, who were determined to thwart every step that might tend to lessen the disgust, or appease the animosity of the Scottish nation. The malecontents insinuated, that the King's opposition to the Scottish company flowed neither from his regard to the interest of England, nor from his punctual observance of treaties with Spain; but solely from his attachment to the Dutch, who maintained an advantageous trade from the island of Curaçoa to the Spanish plantations in America, and were apprehensive that the Scottish company would deprive them of this commerce. This interpretation served as fuel to the flame already kindled in Scotland, and industriously blown up by the calumnies of the Jacobites. Their parliament adopted the company as a national concern, by voting, That the colony of Caledonia in Darien was a legal and rightful settlement, which the parliament would maintain and support. On account of this resolution the session was for some time discontinued: but, when the Scots understood their new settlement was totally abandoned, their capital lost, and all their hope entirely vanished, the whole nation was seized with a transport of fury. They loudly exclaimed, that they had been sacrificed and basely betrayed in that quarter where they were entitled to protection. They concerted an address to the King, couched in a very high strain, representing the necessity of an immediate parliament. It was circulated about the kingdom for subscriptions,

signed by a great number of those who sat in parliament, and presented to the King by Lord Ross, who with some others was deputed for that purpose. The King told them, they should know his intention in Scotland; and in the mean time adjourned their parliament by proclamation. The people, exasperated at this new provocation, began to form the draft of a second national address, to be signed by the shires and boroughs of the kingdom: but, before this could be finished, the King wrote a letter to the Duke of Queensberry, and the privy-council of that nation, which was published for the satisfaction of the people. He professed himself grieved at the nation's loss, and willing to grant what might be needful for the relief and ease of the kingdom. He assured them, he had their interest at heart; and that his good subjects should have convincing proofs of his sincere inclination to advance the wealth and prosperity of that his ancient kingdom. He said, he hoped this declaration would be satisfactory to all good men: that they would not suffer themselves to be misled; nor give advantage to enemies, and ill-designing persons, ready to seize every opportunity of embroiling the government. He gave them to understand, that his necessary absence had occasioned the late adjournment; but as soon as God should bring him back, their parliament should be assembled. Even this explanation, seconded by all the credit and address of his ministers, failed in allaying the national ferment, which rose to the very verge of rebellion.

§ XXX. The King, who, from his first accession to the throne, had veered occasionally from one

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party to another, according to the circumstances of his affairs, and the opposition he encountered, was at this period so incensed and embarrassed by the caprice and insolence of the Commons, that he willingly lent an ear to the leaders of the Tories, who undertook to manage the Parliament according to his pleasure, provided he would part with some of his ministers, who were peculiarly odious to the Commons. The person against whom their anger was chiefly directed, was the Lord Chancellor Somers, the most active leader of the Whig-party. They demanded his dismissal, and the King exhorted him to resign his office: but he refusing to take any step that might indicate a fear of his enemies, or a consciousness of guilt, the King sent a peremptory order for the seals by the Lord Jersey, to whom Somers delivered them without hesitation. They were successively offered to Lord-Chief-Justice Holt, and Trevor the attorney-general, who declined accepting such a precarious office. Meanwhile, the King granted a temporary commission to three judges to sit in the Court of Chancery; and at length bestowed the seals, with the title of Lord Keeper, on Nathan Wright, one of the serjeants at law, a man but indifferently qualified for the office to which he was now preferred. Though William seemed altogether attached to the Tories, and inclined to a new Parliament, no person appeared to take the lead in the affairs of government; and, indeed, for some time the administration seemed to be under no particular direction.

§ XXXI. During the transactions of the last session, the negotiation for a second partition-treaty had been

carried on in London by the French minister, Tallard, in conjunction with the Earls of Portland and Jersey, and was soon brought to perfection. On the twenty-first day of February the treaty was signed in London; and on the twenty-fifth of the next month it was subscribed at the Hague by Briord, the French envoy, and the plenipotentiaries of the States-General. By this convention the treaty of Ryfwick was confirmed. The contracting parties agreed, that, in case of his Catholic Majesty's dying without issue, the Dauphin should possess, for himself and his heirs, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the Islands of St. Stephano, Porto Hercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Porto Longone, Piombino, the city and marquifate of Final, the Province of Guipuscoa, the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, in exchange for which last, the Duke of Lorraine should enjoy the duchy of Milan; but that the county of Biche should remain in sovereignty to the Prince of Vaudemont: that the Archduke Charles should inherit the kingdom of Spain and all its dependencies in and out of Europe; but, in case of his dying without issue, it should devolve to some other child of the Emperor, excepting him who might succeed as Emperor or King of the Romans: that this monarchy should never descend to a King of France or Dauphin; and that three months should be allowed to the Emperor, to consider whether or not he would accede to this treaty. Whether the French King was really sincere in his professions at this juncture, or proposed this treaty with a view to make a clandestine use of it at the court of Spain for more interested purposes, it is

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 1. concealed from the notice of the public, as if the
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 of it, during the life of his Catholic Majesty.

§ XXXII. In the beginning of July the King embarked for Holland, after having appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence. On the twenty-ninth day of the same month, the young Duke of Gloucester, the only remaining child of seventeen which the Princess Anne had born, died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his age. His death was much lamented by the greater part of the English nation, not only on account of his promising talents and gentle behaviour, but also, as it left the succession undetermined, and might create disputes of fatal consequence to the nation. The Jacobites openly exulted in an event which they imagined would remove the chief bar to the interest of the Prince of Wales: but the Protestants generally turned their eyes to the Princess Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, and grand-daughter of James I. It was with a view to concert the establishment of her succession, that the court of Brunswick now returned the visit of King William. The present state of affairs in England, however, afforded a very uncomfortable prospect. The people were generally alienated from the person and government of the reigning King, upon whom they seem to have surfeited. The vigor of their minds was destroyed by luxury and sloth: the severity of their morals was relaxed by a long habit of venality and corruption. The King's health began to decline, and even his faculties

decayed apace. No person was appointed to ascend the throne when it should become vacant. The Jacobite faction alone was eager, vigilant, enterprising, and elate. They dispatched Mr. Graham, brother of Lord Preston, to the court of St. Germain's, immediately after the death of the Duke of Gloucester: they began to bestir themselves all over the kingdom. A report was spread that the Princess Anne had privately sent a message to her father; and Britain was once more threatened with civil war, confusion, anarchy, and ruin.

§ XXXIII. In the mean time, King William was not inactive. The Kings of Denmark and Poland, with the Elector of Brandenburg, had formed a league to crush the young King of Sweden, by invading his dominions on different sides. The Poles actually entered Livonia, and undertook the siege of Riga: the King of Denmark, having demolished some forts in Holstein, the Duke of which was connected with Sweden, invested Tonningen. The Swedish minister in England demanded that assistance of William which had been stipulated in a late renewal of the ancient treaty between England and Sweden. The States of Holland were solicited to the same purpose. Accordingly, a fleet of thirty sail, English and Dutch, was sent to the Baltic, under the command of Sir George Rook, who joined the Swedish squadron, and bombarded Copenhagen, to which the Danish fleet had retired. At the same time, the Duke of Lunenburgh, with the Swedish forces, which happened to be at Bremen, passed the Elbe, and marched to the assistance of the Duke of Holstein. The Danes

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immediately abandoned the siege of Tonningen; and a body of Saxons, who had made an irruption into the territories of the Duke of Brunswick, were obliged to retreat in disorder. By the mediation of William, a negociation was begun for a treaty between Sweden and Denmark, which, in order to quicken, Charles the young King of Sweden made a descent upon the isle of Zealand. This was executed with great success. Charles was the first man who landed; and here he exhibited such marks of courage and conduct, far above his years, as equally astonished and intimidated his adversaries. Then he determined to besiege Copenhagen; a resolution that struck such terror into the Danes, that they proceeded with redoubled diligence in the treaty, which was brought to a conclusion, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein, about the middle of August. Then the Swedes retired to Schonen, and the squadrons of the maritime powers returned from the Baltick.

§ XXXIV. When the new partition-treaty was communicated by the ministers of the contracting parties to the other powers of Europe, it generally met with a very unfavorable construction. Saxony and the northern crowns were still embroiled with their own quarrels, consequently could not give much attention to such a remote transaction. The Princes of Germany appeared cautious and dilatory in their answers, unwilling to be concerned in any plan that might excite the resentment of the House of Austria. The Elector of Brandenburg, in particular, had set his heart upon the regal dignity, which he hoped to obtain from the favor and

authority of the Emperor. The Italian states were averse to the partition-treaty, from their apprehension of seeing France in possession of Naples, and other districts of their country. The Duke of Savoy affected a mysterious neutrality, in hopes of being able to barter his consent for some considerable advantage. The Swiss cantons declined acceding as guarantees. The Emperor expressed his astonishment that any disposition should be made of the Spanish monarchy without the consent of the present possessor, and the states of the kingdom. He observed, that neither justice nor decorum could warrant the contracting powers to compel him, who was the rightful heir, to accept a part of his inheritance within three months, under penalty of forfeiting even that share to a third person not yet named; and he declared, that he could take no final resolution, until he should know the sentiments of his Catholic Majesty, on an affair in which their mutual interest was so nearly concerned. Leopold was actually engaged in a negociation with the King of Spain, who signed a will in favor of his second son Charles: Yet he took no measures to support the disposition, either by sending the Archduke with a sufficient force to Spain, or by detaching troops into Italy.

§ XXXV. The people of Spain were exasperated at the insolence of the three foreign powers who pretended to parcel out their dominions. Their pride took the alarm, at the prospect of their monarchy's being dismembered; and the grandees repined at the thought of losing so many lucrative governments,

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which they now enjoyed. The King's life became every day more and more precarious, from frequent returns of his disorder. The ministry was weak and divided, the nobility factious, and the people discontented. The hearts of the nation had been alienated from the House of Austria, by the insolent carriage and rapacious disposition of the Queen Mariana. The French had gained over to their interests the Cardinal Portocarrero, the Marquis de Montercy, with many other noblemen and persons of distinction. These, perceiving the sentiments of the people, employed their emissaries to raise a general cry that France alone could maintain the succession entire: that the House of Austria was feeble and exhausted, and any prince of that line must owe his chief support to detestable heretics. Portocarrero tampered with the weakness of his sovereign. He repeated and exaggerated all these suggestions: he advised him to consult Pope Innocent XII. on this momentous point of regulating the succession. That pontiff, who was a creature of France, having taken the advice of a college of cardinals, determined that the renunciation of Maria Theresa was invalid and null, as being founded upon compulsion, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the Spanish monarchy. He, therefore, exhorted King Charles to contribute to the prorogation of the faith, and the repose of Christendom, by making a new will in favor of a grandson of the French monarch. This admonition was seconded by the remonstrances of Portocarrero; and the weak prince complied with the proposal. In the mean time, the King of France seemed to act heartily, as a principal

principal in the treaty of partition. His ministers at foreign courts co-operated with those of the maritime powers, in soliciting the accession of the different potentates in Europe. When Count Zinzendorf, the Imperial ambassador at Paris, presented a memorial, desiring to know what part France would act, should the King of Spain voluntarily place a grandson of Louis upon the throne, the Marquis de Torcy answered in writing, that his Most Christian Majesty would by no means listen to such a proposal: nay, when the Emperor's minister gave them to understand that his master was ready to begin a separate negociation with the court of Versailles, touching the Spanish succession, Louis declared he could not treat on that subject without the concurrence of his allies.

§ XXXVI. The nature of the partition-treaty was no sooner known in England, than condemned by the most intelligent part of the nation. They first of all complained, that such an important affair should be concluded without the advice of parliament. They observed, that the scheme was unjust, and the execution of it hazardous: that, in concerting the terms, the maritime powers seemed to have acted as partisans of France; for the possession of Naples and the Tuscan ports would subject Italy to her dominion, and interfere with the English trade to the Levant and Mediterranean; while Guipuscoa, on any future rupture, would afford another inlet into the heart of the Spanish dominions: they, for these reasons, pronounced the treaty destructive of the balance of power, and prejudicial to the interest of England. All these arguments were trumpeted by the malecontents,

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so that the whole kingdom echoed with the clamor of disaffection, Sir Christopher Musgrave, and others of the Tory-faction, began to think in earnest of establishing the succession of the English crown upon the person of the Prince of Wales. They are said to have sent over Mr. Graham to St. Germain's with overtures to this purpose, and an assurance that a motion would be made in the House of Commons, to pass a vote that the crown should not be supported in the execution of the partition-treaty. King William was not ignorant of the censure he had undergone, and not a little alarmed to find himself so unpopular among his own subjects. That he might be the more able to bestow his attention effectually upon the affairs of England, he resolved to take some measures for the satisfaction of the Scottish nation. He permitted the parliament of that kingdom to meet on the twenty-eighth day of October, and wrote a letter to them from his house at Loo, containing an assurance that he would concur in every thing that could be reasonably proposed for maintaining and advancing the peace and welfare of their kingdom. He promised to give his royal assent to such acts as they should frame for the better establishment of the presbyterian discipline; for preventing the growth of popery, suppressing vice and immorality, encouraging piety and virtue, preserving and securing personal liberty, regulating and advancing trade, retrieving the losses, and promoting the interest of their African and Indian companies. He expressed his concern that he could not assert the company's right of establishing a colony at Darien, without disturbing the peace of

Christendom, and entailing a ruinous war on that his ancient kingdom. He recommended unanimity and dispatch in raising competent taxes for their own defence; and told them he had thought fit to continue the Duke of Queensberry in the office of high-commissioner. Notwithstanding this soothing address, the national resentment continued to rage, and the parliament seemed altogether intractable. By this time the company had received certain tidings of the entire surrender of their settlement; and, on the first day of the session, they represented to parliament, that for want of due protection abroad, some persons had been encouraged to break in upon their privileges even at home. This remonstrance was succeeded by another national address to the king, who told them he could no take any further notice of that affair, since the parliament was now assembled; and he had already made a declaration, with which he hoped all his faithful subjects would be satisfied. Nevertheless, he found it absolutely necessary to practise other expedients for allaying the ferment of that nation. His ministers and their agents bestirred themselves so successfully, that the heats in parliament were entirely cooled, and the outcry of the people subsided into unavailing murmurs. The parliament resolved, That in consideration of their great deliverance by his Majesty; and, as next under God, their safety and happiness wholly depended on his preservation and that of his government, they would support both to the utmost of their power, and maintain such forces as should be requisite for those ends. They passed an act for keeping on foot three thousand men for two

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years, to be maintained by a land-tax. Then the commissioner produced the King's letter, desiring to have eleven hundred men on his own account to the first day of June following: they forthwith complied with his request, and were prorogued to the sixth of May. The supernumerary troops were sent over to the States-General; and the Earl of Argyle was honored with the title of duke, as a recompence for having concurred with the commissioner in managing this session of parliament.

§ XXXVII. King William had returned to England on the eighteenth day of October, not a little chagrined at the perplexities in which he found himself involved; and, in the beginning of the next month, he received advice that the King of Spain was actually dead. He could not be surpris'd at this event, which had been so long expected; but it was attended with a circumstance which he had not foreseen. Charles, by his last will, had declared the Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin, the sole heir of the Spanish monarchy. In case this prince should die without issue, or inherit the crown of France, he willed that Spain should devolve to the Duke of Berry; in default of him, and children, to the Archduke Charles and his heirs; failing of whom, to the Duke of Savoy and his posterity. He likewise recommended a match between the Duke of Anjou, and one of the Archduchesses. When this testament was first notified to the French court, Louis seem'd to hesitate between his inclination and engagements to William and the States-General. Madame de Maintenon is said to have joined her influence to that of

the Dauphin, in persuading the King to accept of the will; and Pontchartrain was engaged to support the same measure. A cabinet-council was called in her apartment. The rest of the ministry declared for the treaty of partition: the King affected a kind of neutrality. The Dauphin spoke for his son, with an air of resolution he had never assumed before: Pontchartrain seconded his arguments: Madame de Maintenon asked what the Duke of Anjou had done to provoke the King, that he should be barred of his right to that succession? Then the rest of the members espoused the Dauphin's opinion; and the King owned himself convinced by their reasons. In all probability, the decision of this council was previously settled in private. After the will was accepted, Louis closetted the Duke of Anjou, to whom he said, in presence of the Marquis des Rios, "Sir, the King of Spain has made you a king. The grandes demand you; the people wish for you, and I give my consent. Remember only, you are a prince of France. I commend to you to love your people, to gain their affection by the lenity of your government, and to render yourself worthy of the throne you are going to ascend." The new monarch was congratulated on his elevation by all the princes of the blood: nevertheless, the Duke of Orleans and his son protested against the will, because the Archduke was placed next in succession to the Duke of Berry, in bar of their right as descendants of Anne of Austria, whose renunciation could be of no more force than that of Maria Theresa. On the fourth day of December, the new king set out

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§ XXXVIII. When the will was accepted, the French minister De Torcy endeavoured to justify his master's conduct to the Earl of Manchester, who resided at Paris in the character of ambassador from the court of London. He observed, That the treaty of partition was not likely to answer the end for which it had been concerted: That the Emperor had refused to accede: that it was relished by none of the princes to whom it had been communicated: That the people of England and Holland had expressed their discontent at the prospect of France's being in possession of Naples and Sicily: That if Louis had rejected the will, the Archduke would have had a double title derived from the former will, and that of the late king: That the Spaniards were so averse to the division of their monarchy, there would be a necessity for conquering the whole kingdom before the treaty could be executed: That the ships to be furnished by Great Britain and Holland would not be sufficient for the purposes of such a war; and it was doubtful whether England and the States-General would engage themselves in a greater expense. He concluded with saying, That the treaty would have been more advantageous to France than the will, which the King accepted purely from a desire of preserving the peace of Europe. His master hoped, therefore, the good understanding would subsist between him and the King of Great Britain. The same reasons were communicated by Briord, the French ambassador at the Hague, to the States-General. Notwithstanding

this address, they ordered their envoy at Paris to deliver a memorial to the French King, expressing their surprise at his having accepted the will; and their hope, that as the time specified for the Emperor's acceding to the treaty was not expired, his Most Christian Majesty would take the affair again into his consideration, and adhere to his engagements in every article. Louis, in his answer to this memorial, which he dispatched to all the courts of Europe, declared, That what he chiefly considered was the principal design of the contracting parties, namely, the maintenance of peace in Europe; and that, true to his principle, he only departed from the words, that he might the better adhere to the spirit of the treaty.

§ XXXIX. With this answer he sent a letter to the States, giving them to understand, that the peace of Europe was so firmly established by the will of the King of Spain, in favor of his grandson, that he did not doubt their approbation of his succession to the Spanish crown. The States observed, That they could not declare themselves upon an affair of such consequence, without consulting their respective provinces. Louis admitted the excuse, and assured them of his readiness to concur with whatever they should desire for the security of the Spanish Netherlands. The Spanish ambassador at the Hague presented them with a letter from his new master, who likewise notified his accession to all the powers of Europe, except the King of England. The Emperor loudly exclaimed against the will, as being more iniquitous than the treaty of partition; and threatened to do himself justice by force

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of arms. The Spaniards apprehending that a league would be formed between his Imperial Majesty and the maritime powers, for setting aside the succession of the Duke of Anjou; and, conscious of their own inability to defend their dominions, resigned themselves entirely to the protection of the French monarch. The towns in the Spanish Netherlands and the duchy of Milan admitted French garrisons: a French squadron anchored in the port of Cadix; and another was detached to the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies. Part of the Dutch army that was quartered in Luxemburgh, Mons, and Namur were made prisoners of war, because they would not own the King of Spain, whom their masters had not yet acknowledged. The States were overwhelmed with consternation by this event, especially when they considered their own naked situation, and reflected that the Spanish garrisons might fall upon them before they could assemble a body of troops for their defence. The danger was so imminent, that they resolved to acknowledge the King of Spain without further hesitation, and wrote a letter to the French King for that purpose: this was no sooner received, than orders were issued for sending back their battalions.

§ XL. How warmly soever King William resented the conduct of the French King, in accepting the will so diametrically opposite to his engagements, he dissembled his chagrin, and behaved with such reserve and apparent indifference, that some people naturally believed he had been privy to the transaction. Others imagined that he was discouraged from engaging in a new war by his bodily infirmities, which daily

increased, as well as by the opposition in parliament, to which he should be inevitably exposed. But his real aim was to conceal his sentiments, until he should have sounded the opinions of other powers in Europe, and seen how far he could depend upon his new ministry. He now seemed to repose his chief confidence in the Earl of Rochester, who had undertaken for the Tories, and was declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Godolphin was appointed first commissioner of the Treasury: Lord Tankerville succeeded Lord Lonsdale, lately deceased, as keeper of the privy-seal, and Sir Charles Hedges was declared secretary of state, in the room of the Earl of Jersey: but the management of the Commons was intrusted to Mr. Robert Harley, who had hitherto opposed the measures of the court with equal virulence and ability. These new undertakers, well knowing they should find it very difficult, if not impossible, to secure a majority in the present parliament, prevailed on the King to dissolve it by proclamation: then the sheriffs were changed according to their nomination, and writs issued for a new parliament to meet on the sixth day of February. During this interval, Count Wratislaw arrived in England, as ambassador from the Emperor, to explain Leopold's title to the Spanish monarchy, supported by repeated entails and renunciations, confirmed in the most solemn treaties. This minister met with a very cold reception from those who stood at the helm of affairs. They sought to avoid all connexions that might engage their country as a principal in another war upon the continent, smarting as they were from the losses and incumbrances which

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the last had entailed upon them and their posterity. They seemed to think that Louis, rather than involve himself in fresh troubles, would give all the security that could be desired for maintaining the peace of Europe; or even, should this be refused, they saw no reason for Britain's exhausting her wealth and strength to support a chimerical balance, in which her interest was but remotely concerned. It was their opinion, that, by keeping aloof, she might render herself more respectable. Her reserve would overawe contending powers: they would in their turn sue for her assistance, and implore her good offices; and, instead of declaring herself a party, she would have the honor to decide as arbitress of their disputes. Perhaps they extended this idea too far; and, in all probability, their notions were inflamed by a spirit of faction. They hated the Whigs as their political adversaries, and detested the war, because it had been countenanced and supported by the interest of that party. The King believed, that a conjunction of the two monarchies of France and Spain would prove fatal to the liberties of Europe; and that this could not be prevented by any other method than a general union of the other European powers. He certainly was an enthusiast in his sentiments of this equilibrium; and fully convinced that he himself, of all the potentates in Christendom, was the only prince capable of adjusting the balance. The Imperial ambassador could not, therefore, be long ignorant of his real purpose, as he conversed with the Dutch favorites, who knew and approved of their master's design, though he avoided a declaration, until he should have rendered

his ministers more propitious to his aim. The true secret, however, of that reserve with which Count Wratislaw was treated at his first arrival, was a private negociation which the King had set on foot with the regency of Spain, touching a barrier in the Netherlands. He proposed, that certain towns should be garrisoned with English and Dutch troops, by way of security against the ambitious designs of France: but the regency were so devoted to the French interest, that they refused to listen to any proposal of this nature. While this affair was in agitation, William resolved to maintain a wary distance from the Emperor; but, when his effort miscarried, the ambassador found him much more open and accessible.

§ XLI. The parliament meeting on the sixth, was prorogued to the tenth day of February, when Mr. Harley was chosen Speaker by a great majority, in

This year was distinguished by a glorious victory which the young King of Sweden obtained in the nineteenth year of his age. Riga continued invested by the King of Poland, while Peter the Czar of Muscovy made his approaches to Narva, at the head of a prodigious army, purposing, in violation of all faith and justice, to share the spoils of the youthful monarch. Charles landed at Reval, compelled the Saxons to abandon the siege of Riga, and having supplied the place, marched with a handful of troops against the Muscovites, who had undertaken the siege of Narva. The Czar quitted his army with some precipitation, as if he had been afraid of hazarding his person, while Charles advanced through ways that were thought impracticable, and surprised the enemy. He broke into their camp before they had the least intimation of his approach, and totally routed them, after a short resistance. He took a great number of prisoners, with all their baggage, tents, and artillery, and entered Narva in triumph.

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opposition to Sir Richard Onslow. The King had previously told Sir Thomas Lyttelton, it would be for his service that he should yield his pretensions to Harley at this juncture; and that gentleman agreed to absent himself from the House on the day of election. The King observed, in his speech, That the nation's loss in the death of the Duke of Gloucester had rendered it absolutely necessary for them to make further provision for the succession of the crown in the protestant line: That the death of the King of Spain had made such an alteration in the affairs of the continent, as required their mature deliberation. The rest of his harangue turned upon the usual topics of demanding supplies for the ensuing year, reminding them of the deficiencies and public debts, recommending to their inquiry the state of the navy and fortifications; exhorting them to encourage commerce, employ the poor, and proceed with vigor and unanimity in all their deliberations. Though the elections had been generally carried in favor of the Tory-interest, the ministry had secured but one part of that faction. Some of the most popular leaders, such as the Duke of Leeds, the Marquis of Normanby, the Earl of Nottingham, Seymour, Musgrave, Howe, Finch, and Showers, had been either neglected or found refractory, and resolved to oppose the court-measures with all their influence. Besides, the French King, knowing that the peace of Europe would in a great measure depend on the resolutions of the English parliament, is said to have distributed great sums of money in England, by means of his minister, Tallard, in order to strengthen the opposition in the House of

Commons. Certain it is, the nation abounded, at this period, with the French coins called Louis d'or and pistoles; but whether this redundancy was owing to a balance of trade in favor of England, or to the largesses of Louis, we shall not pretend to determine. We may likewise observe, that the infamous practice of bribing electors had never been so flagrant as in the choice of representatives for this parliament. This scandalous traffic had been chiefly carried on by the Whig-party, and, therefore, their antagonists resolved to spare no pains in detecting their corruption. Sir Edward Seymour distinguished himself by his zeal and activity: he brought some of these practices to light, and, in particular, stigmatized the new East-India company, for having been deeply concerned in this species of venality. An inquiry being set on foot in the House of Commons, several elections were declared void; and divers persons who had been illegally returned, were first expelled the House, and afterwards detained in prison. Yet these prosecutions were carried on with such partiality, as plainly indicated that they flowed rather from party-zeal than from patriotism.

§ XLII. A great body of the Commons had resolved to present an address to his Majesty, desiring he would acknowledge the King of Spain; and the motion, in all probability, would have been carried by a considerable majority, had not one bold and lucky expression given such a turn to the debate, as induced the anti-courtiers to desist. One Mr. Monckton, in the heat of his declamation against this measure, said, he expected the next vote would be for

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owning the pretended Prince of Wales. Though there was little or no connexion between these two subjects, a great many members were startled at the insinuation, and deserted the measure, which was dropped accordingly. The King's speech being taken into consideration, the House resolved to support his Majesty and his government; to take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, and the preservation of the protestant religion. This resolution was presented in an address to the King, who received it favorably. At the same time, he laid before them a memorial he had received from the States-General, and desired their advice and assistance in the points that constituted the substance of this remonstrance. The States gave him to understand, that they had acknowledged the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain: that France had agreed to a negociation, in which they might stipulate the necessary conditions for securing the peace of Europe; and that they were firmly resolved to do nothing without the concurrence of his Majesty and their other allies. They, therefore, begged he would send a minister to the Hague, with necessary powers and instructions to co-operate with them in this negociation: he told them that, in case it should prove ineffectual, or Holland be suddenly invaded by the troops which Louis had ordered to advance towards their frontiers, they relied on the assistance of England, and hoped his Majesty would prepare the succours stipulated by treaty, to be used, should occasion require. The memorial was likewise communicated to the

House of Lords. Mean while, the Commons desired that the treaties between England and the States-General should be laid before their House. These being perused, they resolved upon an address, to desire his Majesty would enter into such negociations with the States-General, and other potentates, as might most effectually conduce to the mutual safety of Great-Britain and the United-Provinces, as well as to the preservation of the peace of Europe, and to assure him of their support and assistance, in performance of the treaty subsisting between England and the States-General. This resolution, however, was not carried without great opposition from those who were averse to the nation's involving itself in another war upon the continent. The King professed himself extremely well pleased with this address, and told them he would immediately order his ministers abroad to act in concert with the States-General and other powers, for the attainment of those ends they proposed.

§ XLIII. He communicated to the Commons a letter written by the Earl of Melfort to his brother the Earl of Perth, governor to the pretended Prince of Wales. It had been mislaid by accident, and came to London in the French mail. It contained a scheme for another invasion of England, together with some reflections on the character of the Earl of Middleton, who had supplanted him at the court of St. Germain's. Melfort was a mere projector, and seems to have had no other view than that of recommending himself to King James, and bringing his rival into disgrace. The House of Lords, to whom the letter was also

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imparted, ordered it to be printed. Next day they presented an address, thanking his Majesty for his care of the protestant religion; desiring all the treaties made since the last war might be laid before them; requesting him to engage in such alliances as he should think proper for preserving the balance of power in Europe: assuring him of their concurrence; expressing their acknowledgment for his having communicated Melfort's letter; desiring he would give orders for seizing the horses and arms of disaffected persons; for removing papists from London; and for searching after those arms and provisions of war mentioned in the letter: finally, they requested him to equip speedily a sufficient fleet for the defence of himself and his kingdom. They received a gracious answer to this address, which was a further encouragement to the King to put his own private designs in execution: towards the same end the letter contributed not a little, by inflaming the fears and resentment of the nation against France, which in vain disclaimed the Earl of Melfort as a fantastical schemer, to whom no regard was paid at the court of Versailles. The French ministry complained of the publication of this letter, as an attempt to sow jealousy between the two crowns; and, as a convincing proof of their sincerity, banished the Earl of Melfort to Angers.

§ XLIV. The credit of Exchequer-bills was so lowered by the change of the ministry, and the lapse of the time allotted for their circulation, that they fell near twenty per cent. to the prejudice of the revenue, and the discredit of the government in foreign countries.

countries. The Commons, having taken this affair into consideration, voted, That provision should be made from time to time for making good the principal and interest due on all parliamentary funds; and afterwards passed a bill for renewing the bills of credit, commonly called Exchequer-bills. This was sent up to the Lords on the sixth day of March, and on the thirteenth received the royal assent. The next object that engrossed the attention of the Commons was the settlement of the succession to the throne; which the King had recommended to their consideration in the beginning of the session. Having deliberated on this subject, they resolved, That for the preservation of the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and the security of the protestant religion, it was absolutely necessary that a further declaration should be made of the limitation and succession of the crown in the protestant line, after his Majesty and the Princess, and the heirs of their bodies respectively: and, That further provision should be first made for the security of the rights and liberties of the people. Mr. Harley moved, That, some conditions of government might be settled as preliminaries, before they should proceed to the nomination of the person, that their security might be complete. Accordingly, they deliberated on this subject, and agreed to the following resolutions: That whoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this crown, shall join in communion with the church of England as by law established: That, in case the crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person, not being a native of this kingdom of

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England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the consent of parliament: That no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of the crown shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of parliament: That, from and after the time that the further limitation by this act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the privy-council, by the laws and customs of the realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the privy-council as shall advise and consent to the same: That after the limitation shall take effect, no person born out of the kingdom of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, although he be naturalized, and made a denizen (except such as are born of English parents) shall be capable to be of the privy-council, or a member of either House of parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown to himself, or to any others in trust for him. That no person who has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as member of the House of Commons: That after the limitation shall take effect, judges commissions be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but, upon the address of both Houses of Parliament, it may be lawful to remove them: That no pardon under the great seal of England be

pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons in parliament. Having settled these preliminaries, they resolved, That the Princess Sophia, Duchess Dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in succession to the crown of England, in the protestant line, after his Majesty, and the Princess, and the heirs of their bodies respectively: and, That the further limitation of the crown be to the said Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being protestants. A bill being formed on these resolutions, was sent up to the House of Lords, where it met with some opposition from the Marquis of Normanby: a protest was likewise entered against it by the Earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, and the Lords Guilford and Jeffries. Nevertheless, it passed without amendments, and on the twelfth day of June received the royal assent: the King was extremely mortified at the preliminary limitations, which he considered as an open insult on his own conduct and administration: not but that they were necessary precautions, naturally suggested by the experience of those evils to which the nation had been already exposed, in consequence of raising a foreign prince to the throne of England. As the Tories lay under the imputation of favoring the late King's interest, they exerted themselves zealously on this occasion, to wipe off the aspersions, and insinuate themselves into the confidence of the people; hoping, that in the sequel they should be able to restrain the nation from engaging too deep in the affairs of the continent, without incurring the charge of disaffection to the present King and government. The act of settlement being passed, the Earl of

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Macclesfield was sent to notify the transaction to the Electress Sophia, who likewise received from his hands the order of the garter.

§ XLV. The act of succession gave umbrage to all the popish princes who were more nearly related to the crown than this lady, whom the parliament had preferred to all others. The Duchess of Savoy, grand-daughter to King Charles I. by her mother, ordered her ambassador, Count Maffei, to make a protestation to the parliament of England, in her name, against all resolutions and decisions contrary to her title, as sole daughter to the Princess Henrietta, next in succession to the crown of England, after King William and the Princess Anne of Denmark. Two copies of this protest Maffei sent in letters to the Lord-Keeper and the Speaker of the Lower House, by two of his gentlemen, and a public notary to attest the delivery: but no notice was taken of the declaration. The Duke of Savoy, while his minister was thus employed in England, engaged in an alliance with the crowns of France and Spain, on condition, That his Catholic Majesty should espouse his youngest daughter without a dowry: That he himself should command the allied army in Italy, and furnish eight thousand infantry, with five-and-twenty hundred horse, in consideration of a monthly subsidy of fifty thousand crowns.

§ XLVI. During these transactions, Mr. Stanhope, envoy extraordinary to the States-General, was empowered to treat with the ministers of France and Spain, according to the addresses of both Houses of parliament. He represented, that though his Most

Christian Majesty had thought fit to deviate from the partition - treaty, it was not reasonable that the King of England should lose the effect of that convention: he, therefore, expected some security for the peace of Europe; and for that purpose insisted upon certain articles, importing, That the French King should immediately withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands: That, for the security of England, the cities of Ostend and Nieuport should be delivered into the hands of his Britannic Majesty: That no kingdom, provinces, cities, lands, or places, belonging to the crown of Spain, should ever be yielded or transferred to the crown of France, on any pretence whatever: That the subjects of his Britannic Majesty should retain all the privileges, rights, and immunities, with regard to their navigation and commerce in the dominions of Spain, which they enjoyed at the death of his late Catholic Majesty; and also all such immunities, rights, and franchises, as the subjects of France, or any other power, either possess for the present, or may enjoy for the future: That all treaties of peace and conventions between England and Spain should be renewed: and That a treaty formed on these demands should be guaranteed by such powers as one or other of the contractors should solicit and prevail upon to accede. Such likewise were the proposals made by the States-General, *with this difference*, that they demanded, as cautionary towns, all the strongest places in the Netherlands. Count d'Avaux, the French minister, was so surprised at these exorbitant demands, that he could not help saying, They could not have been higher,

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if his master had lost four successive battles. He assured them, that his most Christian Majesty would withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands as soon as the King of Spain should have forces of his own sufficient to guard the country: with respect to the other articles, he could give no other answer, but that he would immediately transmit them to Versailles. Louis was filled with indignation at the insolent strain of those proposals, which he considered as a sure mark of William's hostile intentions. He refused to give any other security for the peace of Europe, than a renewal of the treaty of Ryfwick; and he is said to have tampered, by means of his agents and emissaries, with the members of the English parliament, that they might oppose all steps tending to a new war on the continent.

§ XLVII. King William certainly had no expectation that France would close with such proposals; but he was not without hope, that her refusal would warm the English nation into a concurrence with his designs. He communicated to the House of Commons the demands which had been made by him and the States-General; and gave them to understand, that he would from time to time make them acquainted with the progress of the negociation. The Commons, suspecting that his intention was to make them parties in a congress which he might conduct to a different end from that which they proposed, resolved to signify their sentiments in the answer to this message. They called for the treaty of partition, which being read, they voted an address of thanks to his Majesty, for his most gracious declaration, that he

would make them acquainted with the progress of the negociation: but they signified their disapprobation of the partition-treaty, signed with the great seal of England, without the advice of the parliament which was then sitting, and productive of ill consequences to the kingdom, as well as to the peace of Europe, as it assigned over to the French King such a large portion of the Spanish dominions. Nothing could be more mortifying to the King than this open attack upon his own conduct: yet he suppressed his resentment, and without taking the least notice of their sentiments with respect to the partition-treaty, assured them, that he should be always ready to receive their advice on the negociation which he had set on foot, according to their desire. The debates in the House of Commons upon the subject of the partition-treaty rose to such violence, that divers members in declaiming against it, transgressed the bounds of decency. Sir Edward Seymour compared the division which had been made of the Spanish territories to a robbery on the highway; and Mr. Howe did not scruple to say it was a felonious treaty: an expression, which the King resented to such a degree, that he declared he would have demanded personal satisfaction with his sword, had not he been restrained by the disparity of condition between himself and the person who had offered such an outrageous insult to his honor: Whether the Tories intended to alienate the minds of the nation from all foreign connexions, or to wreak their vengeance on the late ministers, whom they hated as the chiefs of the Whig-party, certain it is, they now raised an universal outcry against the

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partition-treaty, which was not only condemned in public-pamphlets and private conversation, but even brought into the House of Lords as an object of parliamentary censure. In the month of March a warm debate on this subject was begun by Sheffield Marquis of Normanby, and carried on with great vehemence by other noblemen of the same faction. They exclaimed against the article by which so many territories were added to the crown of France: they complained, that the Emperor had been forsaken: that the treaty was not communicated to the privy-council or ministry, but clandestinely transacted by the Earls of Portland and Jersey: that the sanction of the great seal had been unjustly and irregularly applied, first to blank powers, and afterwards to the treaty itself. The courtiers replied, that the King had engaged in a treaty of partition at the desire of the Emperor, who had agreed to every article, except that relating to the duchy of Milan, and afterwards desired, that his Majesty would procure for him the best terms he could obtain; above all things recommending secrecy, that he might not forfeit his interest in Spain, by seeming to consent to the treaty: that foreign negotiations being intrusted to the care of the crown, the King lay under no legal obligation to communicate such secrets of state to his council; far less was he obliged to follow their advice: and that the keeper of the great seal had no authority for refusing to apply it to any powers or treaty which the King should grant or conclude, unless they were contrary to law, which had made

no provision for such an emergency *. The Earl of Portland, apprehending that this tempest would burst upon his head, declared, on the second day of the debate, that he had by the King's order communicated the treaty, before it was concluded, to the Earls of Pembroke and Marlborough, the Lords Londale, Somers, Halifax and secretary Vernon. These noblemen owned, that they had been made acquainted with the substance of it: that when they excepted to some particulars, they were told, his Majesty had carried the matter as far as it could be advanced, and that he could obtain no better terms; thus assured that every article was already settled, they said they no longer insisted upon particulars, but gave their advice that his Majesty should not engage himself in any measure that would produce a new war, seeing the nation had been so uneasy under the last. After long debates, and great variety as well as virulence of altercation, the House agreed to an address, in which they disapproved of the partition-treaty, as a scheme inconsistent with the peace and safety of Europe, as well as prejudicial to the interest of Great-Britain. They complained, that neither the instructions given to his plenipotentiaries, nor

* In the course of this debate, the Earl of Rochester reprehended some lords for speaking disrespectfully of the French King, observing, that it was peculiarly incumbent on peers to treat monarchs with decorum and respect, as they derived their dignity from the crown. Another affirming, that the French King was not only to be respected, but likewise to be feared; a certain lord replied, "He hoped no man in England need to be afraid of the French King, much less the peer who spoke last, who was too much a friend to that monarch to fear any thing from his resentment."

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the draft of the treaty itself, had been laid before his Majesty's council. They humbly besought him, that for the future, he would in all matters of importance, require and admit the advice of his natural-born subjects of known probity and fortune; and that he would constitute a council of such persons, to whom he might impart all affairs which should any way concern him and his dominions. They observed, that interest and natural affection to their country would incline them to every measure that might tend to its welfare and prosperity; whereas strangers could not be so much influenced by these considerations: that their knowledge of the country would render them more capable than foreigners could be of advising his Majesty touching the true interests of his kingdom: that they had exhibited such repeated demonstrations of their duty and affection, as must convince his Majesty of their zeal in his service; nor could he want the knowledge of persons fit to be employed in all his secret and arduous affairs: finally, as the French King appeared to have violated the treaty of partition, they advised his Majesty, in future negotiations with that prince, to proceed with such caution as might imply a real security.

§ XLVIII. The King received this severe remonstrance with his usual phlegm, saying, it contained matter of very great moment; and he would take care that all treaties he made should be for the honor and safety of England. Though he deeply felt this affront, he would not alter his conduct towards the new

* Burnet. Oldmixon. Cole. Lamberty. State-Tracts Tindal. Ralph. Voltaire.

ministers: but, he plainly perceived their intention was to thwart him in his favorite measure, and humble him into a dependence upon their interest in parliament. On the last day of March, he imparted to the Commons the French King's declaration, that he would grant no other security than a renewal of the treaty of Ryfwick: so that the negociation seemed to be at an end. He likewise communicated two resolutions of the States-General, with a memorial from their envoy in England, relating to the ships they had equipped with a view to join the English fleet, and the succours stipulated in the treaty concluded in the year 1677, which they desired might be sent over with all convenient expedition. The House having considered this message, unanimously resolved to desire his Majesty would carry on the negotiations in concert with the States-General, and take such measures therein as might most conduce to their safety: they assured him, they would effectually enable him to support the treaty of 1677, by which England was bound to assist them with ten thousand men, and twenty ships of war, in case they should be attacked. Though the King was nettled at that part of this address, which, by confining him to one treaty, implied their disapprobation of a new confederacy, he discovered no signs of emotion; but thanked them for the assurance they had given, and told them he had sent orders to his envoy at the Hague, to continue the conferences with the courts of France and Spain. On the nineteenth day of April, the Marquis de Torcy delivered to the Earl of Manchester, at Paris, a letter from the new King of Spain

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to his Britannic Majesty, notifying his accession to that throne, and expressing a desire of cultivating a mutual friendship with the King and crown of England. How averse soever William might have been to any correspondence of this sort, the Earl of Rochester and the new ministers importuned him in such a manner to acknowledge Philip, that he at length complied with their intreaties, and wrote a civil answer to his Most Catholic Majesty. This was a very alarming incident to the Emperor, who was bent upon a war with the two crowns, and had determined to send Prince Eugene with an army into Italy, to take possession of the duchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire. The new Pope Clement XI. who had succeeded to the papacy in the preceding year, was attached to the French interest: the Venetians favored the Emperor; but they refused to declare themselves at this juncture.

§ XLIX. The French King consented to a renewal of the negociations at the Hague; but, in the mean time, tampered with the Dutch deputies, to engage them in a separate treaty. Finding them determined to act in concert with the King of England, he protracted the conferences, in order to gain time, while he erected fortifications, and drew lines on the frontiers of Holland, divided the princes of the empire by his intrigues, and endeavoured to gain over the states of Italy. The Dutch, mean while, exerted themselves in providing for their own security. They reinforced their garrisons, purchased supplies, and solicited succours from foreign potentates. The States wrote a letter to King William, explaining the

danger of their situation, professing the most inviolable attachment to the interest of England, and desiring that the stipulated number of troops should be sent immediately to their assistance. The three Scottish regiments which he had retained in his own pay were immediately transported from Scotland. The letter of the States-General he communicated to the House of Commons, who having taken it into consideration, resolved to assist his Majesty to support his allies in maintaining the liberty of Europe; and to provide immediate succours for the States-General, according to the treaty of 1677. The House of Peers, to whom the letter was also communicated, carried their zeal still farther. They presented an address, in which they desired his Majesty would not only perform the articles of any former treaty with the States-General, but also engage with them in a strict league offensive and defensive, for their common preservation; and invite into it all the princes and states that were concerned in the present visible danger arising from the union of France and Spain. They exhorted him to enter into such alliances with the Emperor, as his Majesty should think necessary, pursuant to the ends of the treaty concluded in the year 1689. They assured him of their hearty and sincere assistance, not doubting that Almighty God would protect his sacred person in so righteous a cause; and that the unanimity, wealth, and courage of his subjects would carry him with honor and success through all the difficulties of a just war. Lastly, they took leave humbly to represent, that the dangers to which his kingdom and allies had been

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§ L. These proceedings of both Houses could not but be very agreeable to the King, who expressed his satisfaction in his answer to each part. They were the more remarkable, as at this very time considerable progress was made in a design to impeach the old ministry. This deviation, therefore, from the tenor of their former conduct could be owing to no other motive than a sense of their own danger, and resentment against France, which, even during the negotiation, had been secretly employed in making preparations to surprise and distress the States-General. The Commons having expressed their sentiments on this subject, resumed the consideration of the partition-treaty. They had appointed a committee to examine the journals of the House of Lords, and to report their proceedings in relation to the treaty of partition. When the report was made by Sir Edward Seymour, the House resolved itself into a committee, to consider the state of the nation: after warm debates, they resolved, That William Earl of Portland, by negotiating and concluding the treaty of partition, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. They ordered Sir John Leveson Gower to impeach him at the bar of the House of Lords: and named a committee to prepare the articles of his impeachment. Then, in a conference with the Lords, they desired to know the particulars of what had passed between the Earl of Portland and Secretary Vernon, in relation to the partition-treaty, as also what other

information they had obtained concerning negotiations or treaties of partition of the Spanish monarchy. The Lords demurring to this demand, the Lower House resolved to address the King, That copies of both treaties of partition, together with all the powers and instructions for negotiating those treaties, should be laid before them. The copies were accordingly produced, and the Lords sent down to the Commons two papers, containing the powers granted to the Earls of Portland and Jersey, for signing both treaties of partition. The House afterwards ordered, That Mr. Secretary Vernon should lay before them all letters which had passed between the Earl of Portland and him, in relation to those treaties; and he thought proper to obey their command. Nothing could be more scandalously partial than the conduct of the Commons on this occasion. They resolved to screen the Earl of Jersey, Sir Joseph Williamson, and Mr. Vernon, who had been as deeply concerned as any others in that transaction; and pointed all their vengeance against the Earls of Portland and Orford, and the Lords Somers and Hallifax. Some of the members even tampered with Kidd, who was now a prisoner in Newgate, to accuse Lord Somers as having encouraged him in his piracy. He was brought to the bar of the House, and examined: but he declared that he had never spoke to Lord Somers; and that he had no order from those concerned in the ship, but that of pursuing his voyage against the pirates in Madagascar. Finding him unfit for their purpose, they left him to the course of law; and he was hanged, with some of his accomplices.

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§ LI. Lord Somers, understanding that he was accused in the House of Commons of having consented to the partition-treaty, desired that he might be admitted and heard in his own defence. His request being granted, he told the House, that when he received the King's letter concerning the partition-treaty, with an order to send over the necessary powers in the most secret manner, he thought it would have been taking too much upon him to put a stop to a treaty of such consequence, when the life of the King of Spain was so precarious; for, had the King died before the treaty was finished, and he been blamed for delaying the necessary powers, he could not have justified his own conduct, since the King's letter was really a warrant: that, nevertheless, he had written a letter to his Majesty, objecting to several particulars in the treaty, and proposing other articles which he thought were for the interest of his country: that he thought himself bound to put the great seal to the treaty when it was concluded: that, as a privy-counsellor, he had offered his best advice, and as chancellor, executed his office according to his duty. After he had withdrawn, his justification gave rise to a long debate, which ended in a resolution carried by a majority of seven voices, That John Lord Somers, by advising his Majesty to conclude the treaty of partition, whereby large territories of the Spanish monarchy were to be delivered up to France, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. Votes to the same effect were passed against Edward Earl of Orford, and Charles Lord Hallifax; and all three were impeached at the bar of the Upper-House.

But

But the Commons knowing that those impeachments would produce nothing in the House of Lords, where the opposite interest predominated, they resolved to proceed against the accused noblemen in a more expeditious and effectual way of branding their reputation. They voted and presented an address to the King, desiring he would remove them from his councils and presence for ever, as advisers of a treaty so pernicious to the trade and welfare of England. They concluded, by repeating their assurances, that they would always stand by and support his Majesty to the utmost of their power, against all his enemies both at home and abroad. The King, in his answer, artfully overlooked the first part of the remonstrance. He thanked them for their repeated assurances; and told them he would employ none in his service but such as should be thought most likely to improve that mutual trust and confidence between him and his people, which was so necessary at that conjuncture, both for their own security and the preservation of their allies.

§ LII. The Lords, incensed at this step of the Commons, which they considered as an insult upon their tribunal, and a violation of common justice, drew up and delivered a counter-address, humbly beseeching his Majesty, that he would not pass any censure upon the accused lords, until they should be tried on the impeachments, and judgment be given according to the usage of parliament. The King was so perplexed by these opposite representations, that he knew not well what course to follow. He made no reply to the counter-address; but allowed the names



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of the impeached lords to remain in the council-books. The Commons having carried their point, which was to stigmatize those noblemen, and prevent their being employed for the future, suffered the impeachments to be neglected, until they themselves moved for trial. On the fifth day of May the House of Lords sent a message to the Commons, importing, That no articles had as yet been exhibited against the noblemen whom they had impeached. The charge was immediately drawn up against the Earl of Orford: him they accused of having received exorbitant grants from the crown: of having been concerned with Kidd the pirate: of having committed abuses in managing and victualling the fleet, when it lay on the coast of Spain; and lastly, of having advised the partition-treaty. The Earl in his own defence declared, that he had received no grant from the King, except a very distant reversion, and a present of ten thousand pounds, after he had defeated the French at La Hogue: that in Kidd's affair he had acted legally, and with a good intention towards the public, though to his own loss: that his accounts with regard to the fleet which he commanded had been examined and passed; yet he was ready to wave the advantage, and justify himself in every particular: and he absolutely denied that he had given any advice concerning the treaty of partition. Lord Somers was accused of having set the seals to the powers, and afterwards to the treaties: of having accepted some grants: of having been an accomplice with Kidd; and of having some guilt of partial and dilatory proceedings in chancery. He answered every article of the charge; but no

replication was made by the Commons, either to him or to the Earl of Orford. When the Commons were stimulated by another message from the Peers, relating to the impeachments of the Earl of Portland and Lord Hallifax, they declined exhibiting articles against the former, on pretence of respect for his Majesty; but on the fourteenth of June the charge against Hallifax was sent up to the Lords. He was taxed with possessing a grant in Ireland, without paying the produce of it, according to the law lately enacted concerning those grants: with enjoying another grant out of the forest of Deane, to the waste of the timber and the prejudice of the navy: with having held places that were incompatible, by being at the same time commissioner of the Treasury, and chancellor of the Exchequer; and with having advised the two treaties of partition. He answered, that his grant in Ireland was of debts and sums of money, and within the act concerning confiscated estates; that all he had ever received from it did not exceed four hundred pounds, which, if he was bound to repay, a common action would lie against him; but every man was not to be impeached who did not discharge his debts at the very day of payment. He observed, that as his grant in the forest of Deane extended to weedings only, it could occasion no waste of timber, nor prejudice to the navy; that the auditor's place was held by another person, until he obtained the King's leave to withdraw from the Treasury: that he never saw the first treaty of partition, nor was his advice asked upon the subject: that he had never heard of the second but once

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before it was concluded; and then he spoke his sentiments freely on the subject. This answer, like the others, would have been neglected by the Commons, whose aim was now to evade the trials, had not the Lords pressed them by messages to expedite the articles. They even appointed a day for Orford's trial, and signified their resolution to the Commons. These desired that a committee of both Houses should be named for settling preliminaries, one of which was, That the lord to be tried should not sit as a peer; and the other imported, That those lords impeached for the same matter should not vote in the trial of each other. They likewise desired, that Lord Somers should be first tried. The Lords made no objection to this last demand: but they rejected the proposal of a committee consisting of both Houses, alledging, that the Commons were parties, and had no title to sit in equality with the judges, or to settle matters relating to the trial: that this was a demand contrary to the principles of law and rules of justice, and never practised in any court or nation. The Lords, indeed, had yielded to this expedient in the popish plot, because it was a case of treason, in which the King's life and safety of the kingdom were concerned, while the people were jealous of the court, and the whole nation was in a ferment: but at present the times were quiet, and the charge amounted to nothing more than misdemeanours; therefore, the Lords could not assent to such a proposal as was derogatory from their jurisdiction. Neither would they agree to the preliminaries; but, on the twelfth day of June, resolved,

That no peer impeached for high crimes and misdemeanours, should, upon his trial, be without the bar: and, That no peer impeached could be precluded from voting on any occasion, except in his own trial. Divers messages passed between the two Houses; the Commons still insisting upon a committee to settle preliminaries: at length the dispute was brought to a free conference.

§ LIII. Mean while, the King going to the House of Peers, gave the royal assent to the bill of succession. In his speech he expressed his warm acknowledgements for their repeated assurances of supporting him in such alliances as should be most proper for the preservation of the liberty of Europe, and for the security of England and the States-General. He observed, that the season of the year was advanced: that the posture of affairs absolutely required his presence abroad: and he recommended dispatch of the public business, especially of those matters which were of the greatest importance. The Commons thanked him in an address for having approved of their proceedings: they declared they would support him in such alliances as he should think fit to make in conjunction with the Emperor and the States-General, for the peace of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France. Then they resumed their dispute with the Upper-House. In the free conference, Lord Haversham happened to tax the Commons with partiality, in impeaching some lords and screening others, who were equally guilty of the same misdemeanours. Sir Christopher Musgrave and the managers for the Commons immediately withdrew: this unguarded sally being

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vol. dalous reproaches and false expressions, highly reflecting upon the honor and justice of the House of Commons, tending to a breach in the good correspondence between the two Houses, and to the interruption of the public justice of the nation: That the said Lord Haversham should be charged before the Lords for the said words; That the Lords should be desired to proceed in justice against him, and to inflict upon him such punishment as so high an offence against the Commons did deserve. The Commons had now found a pretence to justify their delay; and declared they would not renew the conference until they should have received satisfaction. Lord Haversham offered to submit to a trial; but insisted on their first proving the words which he was said to have spoken. When this declaration was imparted to the Commons, they said, the Lords ought to have censured him in a summary way, and still refused to renew the conference. The Lords, on the other hand, came to a resolution, That there should not be a committee of both Houses concerning the trial of the impeached lords. Then they resolved, That Lord Somers should be tried at Westminster-hall on Tuesday the seventeenth day of June, and signified this resolution to the Lower-House; reminding them, at the same time, of the articles against the Earl of Portland. The Commons refused to appear, alledging, they were the only judges, and that the evidence was not yet prepared. They sent up the reasons of their non-appearance to the House of Lords,

where they were supported by the new ministry and all the malecontents; and produced very warm debates. The majority carried their point piece-meal, by dint of different votes, against which very severe protests were entered. On the day appointed for the trial, they sent a message to the Commons, that they were going to Westminster-hall. The other impeached lords asked leave, and were permitted to withdraw. The articles of impeachment against Lord Somers, and his answers, being read in Westminster-hall, and the Commons not appearing to prosecute, the Lords adjourned to their own house, where they debated concerning the question that was to be put. This being settled, they returned to Westminster-hall; and the question being put, "That John Lord Somers be acquitted of the articles of impeachment against him, exhibited by the House of Commons, and all things therein contained; and, That the impeachment be dismissed," it was carried by a majority of thirty-five. The Commons, exasperated at these proceedings, resolved, that the Lords had refused justice to the Commons: That they had endeavoured to overturn the right of impeachments lodged in the Commons by the ancient constitution of the kingdom: That all the ill consequences which might attend the delay of the supplies given for the preservation of the public peace, and the maintenance of the balance of Europe, would be owing to those who, to procure an indemnity for their own crimes, had used their utmost endeavours to make a breach between the two Houses. The Lords sent a message to the Commons, giving them to understand, that

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they had acquitted Lord Somers, and dismissed the impeachment, as nobody had appeared to support the articles; and that they had appointed next Monday for the trial of the Earl of Orford. They resolved, That unless the charge against Lord Haversham should be prosecuted by the Commons before the end of the session, the Lords would adjudge him innocent: That the resolutions of the Commons in their late votes contained most unjust reflections on the honor and justice of the Peers: That they were contrived to cover their affected and unreasonable delays in prosecuting the impeached Lords: That they manifestly tended to the destruction of the judicature of the Lords; to the rendering trials on the impeachments impracticable for the future, and to the subverting the constitution of the English government: That, therefore, whatever ill consequences might arise from the so long deferring the supplies for this year's service, were to be attributed to the fatal council of the putting off the meeting of a parliament so long, and to the unnecessary delays of the House of Commons. On the twenty-third day of June, the articles of impeachment against Edward Earl of Orford were read in Westminster-hall; but the House of Commons having previously ordered that none of their members should appear at this pretended trial, those articles were not supported: so that his lordship was acquitted, and the impeachment dismissed. Next day, the impeachment against the Duke of Leeds, which had lain seven years neglected, together with those against the Earl of Portland and Lord Hallifax, as well as the charge against Lord Haversham, were

dismissed for want of prosecution. Each House ordered a narrative of these proceedings to be published; and their mutual animosity had proceeded to such a degree of rancor, as seemed to preclude all possibility of reconciliation. The Commons, in the whole course of this transaction, had certainly acted from motives of faction and revenge; for nothing could be more unjust, frivolous, and partial, than the charge exhibited in the articles of impeachment, their anticipating address to the King, and their affected delay in the prosecutions. Their conduct on this occasion was so flagrant as to attract the notice of the common people, and inspire the generality of the nation with disgust. This the Whigs did not fail to augment by the arts of calumny, and, in particular, by insinuating that the court of Versailles had found means to engage the majority of the Commons in its interest.

§ LIV. This faction had, since the beginning of this session, employed their emissaries in exciting a popular aversion to the Tory-ministers and members, and succeeded so well in their endeavours, that they formed a scheme of obtaining petitions from different counties and corporations, that should induce the Commons to alter their conduct, on the supposition that it was contrary to the sense of the nation. In execution of this scheme a petition, signed by the deputy-lieutenants, above twenty justices of the peace, the grand jury and freeholders of the county of Kent, had been presented to the House of Commons on the eighteenth day of May, by five gentlemen of fortune and distinction. The purport of this

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remonſtrance was to recommend union among themſelves, and confidence in his Maſteſty, whoſe great actions for the nation could never be forgot without the blackeſt ingratitude: to beg they would have regard to the voice of the people; that their religion and ſafety might be effectually provided for; that their loyal addreſſes might be turned into bills of ſupply; that his moſt ſacred Maſteſty might be enabled powerfully to aſſiſt his allies before it ſhould be too late. The Houſe was ſo incenſed at the petulance of the petition, that they voted it ſcandalous, insolent and ſeditious; and ordered the gentlemen who had preſented it to be taken into cuſtody. They were afterwards committed to the Gate-houſe, where they remained till the prorogation of parliament: but they had no reaſon to repine at their impriſonment, which recommended them to the notice and eſteem of the public. They were viſited and careſſed by the chiefs of the Whig-intereſt, and conſidered as martyrs to the liberties of the people. Their confinement gave riſe to a very extraordinary paper, entitled, “A Memorial from the gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants, of the counties of—, in behalf of themſelves, and many thouſands of the good people of England.” It was ſigned Legion, and ſent to the Speaker in a letter, commanding him, in the name of two hundred thouſand Engliſhmen, to deliver it to the Houſe of Commons. In this ſtrange expoſtulation, the Houſe was charged with illegal and unwarrantable practices, in fifteen particulars: a new claim of right was ranged under ſeven heads; and the Commons were admoniſhed to act according

to their duty, as specified in this memorial, on pain of incurring the resentment of an injured nation. It was concluded in these words: "For Englishmen are no more to be slaves to parliaments than to kings—our name is Legion, and we are many". The Commons were equally provoked and intimidated by this libel, which was the production of one Daniel de Foe, a scurrilous party-writer, in very little estimation. They would not, however, deign to take notice of it in the House: but a complaint being made of endeavours to raise tumults and seditions, a committee was appointed to draw up an address to his Majesty, informing him of those seditious endeavours, and beseeching him to provide for the public peace and security.

§ LV. The House, however, perceiving plainly that they had incurred the odium of the nation, which began to clamor for a war with France, and dreading the popular resentment, thought fit to change their measures with respect to this object, and present the address we have already mentioned, in which they promised to support him in the alliances he should contract with the Emperor and other states, in order to bridle the exorbitant power of France. They likewise proceeded in earnest upon the supply, and voted funds for raising about two millions seven hundred thousand pounds, to defray the expense of the ensuing year. They voted thirty thousand seamen, and resolved that ten thousand troops should be transported from Ireland to Holland, as the auxiliaries stipulated in the treaty of 1677 with the States-General. The funds were constituted of a

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land-tax, certain duties on merchandise, and a weekly deduction from the Excise, so as to bring down the civil list to six hundred thousand pounds; as the Duke of Gloucester was dead, and James's queen refused her allowance. They passed a bill for taking away all privilege of parliament in legal prosecutions, during the intermediate prorogations; their last struggle with the Lords was concerning a bill for appointing commissioners to examine and state the public accounts. The persons nominated for this purpose were extremely obnoxious to the majority of the Peers, as violent partisans of the Tory-faction: when the bill, therefore, was sent up to the Lords, they made some amendments, which the Commons rejected. The former animosity between the two Houses began to revive, when the King interrupted their disputes, by putting an end to the session, on the twenty-fourth day of June, after having thanked the parliament for their zeal in the public service, and exhorted them to a discharge of their duties in their several counties. He was, no doubt, extremely pleased with such an issue of a session that had begun with a very inauspicious aspect. His health daily declined: but he concealed the decay of his constitution, that his allies might not be discouraged from engaging in a confederacy of which he was deemed the head and chief support. He conferred the command of the ten thousand troops destined for Holland upon the Earl of Marlborough, and appointed him at the same time his plenipotentiary to the States-General: a choice that evinced his discernment and discretion; for that nobleman surpassed all his

contemporaries, both as a general and a politician. He was cool, penetrating, intrepid, and persevering, plausible, insinuating, artful, and dissembling.

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§ LVI. A regency being established, the King embarked for Holland in the beginning of July. On his arrival at the Hague he assisted at an assembly of the States-General, whom he harangued in very affectionate terms, and was answered with great cordiality: then he made a progress round the frontiers, to examine the state of the garrisons; and gave such orders and directions as he judged necessary for the defence of the country. Mean while, the French minister d'Avaux being recalled from the Hague, delivered a letter to the States from the French King, who complained that they had often interrupted the conferences, from which no good fruits were to be expected: but he assured them it wholly depended upon themselves, whether they should continue to receive marks of his ancient friendship for their republic. The letter was accompanied by an insolent memorial, to which the States-General returned a very spirited answer. As they expected nothing now but hostilities from France, they redoubled their diligence in making preparations for their own defence. They repaired their fortifications, augmented their army, and hired auxiliaries. King William and they had already engaged in an alliance with the King of Denmark, who undertook to furnish a certain number of troops, in consideration of a subsidy; and they endeavoured to mediate a peace between Sweden and Poland: but this they could not effect. France had likewise offered her

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mediation between those powers, in hopes of bringing over Sweden to her interest; and the court of Vienna had tampered with the King of Poland; but he persisted in his resolution to prosecute the war. The Spaniards began to be very uneasy under the dominion of their new master. They were shocked at the insolence of his French ministers and attendants, and much more at the manners and fashions which they introduced. The grandees found themselves very little considered by their sovereign, and resented his economy; for he had endeavoured to retrench the expense of the court, which had used to support their magnificence. Prince Eugene, at the head of the Imperial army, had entered Italy by Vicenza, and passed the Adige near Carpi, where he defeated a body of five thousand French forces. The enemy were commanded by the Duke of Savoy, assisted by Mareschal Catinat and the Prince of Vaudemont, who did not think proper to hazard an engagement: but Mareschal Villeroy arriving in the latter end of August, with orders to attack the Imperialists, Catinat retired in disgust. The new general marched immediately towards Chiari, where Prince Eugene was intrenched, and attacked his camp; but met with such a reception, that he was obliged to retire with the loss of five thousand men. Towards the end of the campaign the Prince took possession of all the Mantua-territories, except Mantua itself, and Goito, the blockade of which he formed. He reduced all the places on the Oglio, and continued in the field during the whole winter, exhibiting repeated marks of the most invincible courage,

indefatigable vigilance, and extensive capacity in the art of war. In January he had well nigh surprised Cremona, by introducing a body of men through an old aqueduct. They forced one of the gates, by which the Prince and his followers entered: Villeroy being wakened by the noise, ran out into the street, where he was taken; and the town must have been infallibly reduced, had Prince Eugene been joined by another body of troops, which he had ordered to march from the Parmesan, and secure the bridge. These not arriving at the time appointed, an Irish regiment in the French service took possession of the bridge, and the Prince was obliged to retire with his prisoner.

§ LVII. The French King, alarmed at the activity and military genius of the Imperial general, sent a re-enforcement to his army in Italy, and the Duke of Vendome to command his forces in that country: he likewise importuned the Duke of Savoy to assist him effectually: but that Prince having obtained all he could expect from France, became cold and backward. His second daughter was by this time married to the new King of Spain, who met her at Barcelona, where he found himself involved in disputes with the states of Catalonia, who refused to pay a tax he had imposed, until their privileges should be confirmed; and he was obliged to gratify them in this particular. — The war continued to rage in the North. The young King of Sweden routed the Saxons upon the river Danu: thence he marched into Courland, and took possession of Mittau without opposition; while the King of Poland retired

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into Lithuania. In Hungary the French emissaries endeavoured to sow the seeds of a new revolt. They exerted themselves with indefatigable industry in almost every court of Christendom. They had already gained over the Elector of Bavaria, and his brother, the Elector of Cologne, together with the Dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha, who professed neutrality, while they levied troops, and made such preparations for war, as plainly indicated that they had received subsidies from France. Louis had also extorted a treaty of alliance from the King of Portugal, who was personally attached to the Austrian interest: but this weak prince was a slave to his ministers, whom the French King had corrupted. During this summer, the French coasts were overawed by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir George Rook, who sailed down the channel in the latter end of August, and detached Vice-Admiral Benbow with a strong squadron to the West-Indies. In order to deceive the French King, with regard to the destination of this fleet, King William demanded the free use of the Spanish harbours, as if his design had been to send a squadron to the Mediterranean: but he met with a repulse, while the French ships were freely admitted. About this period the King revoked his letters-patent to the commissioners of the Admiralty, and constituted the Earl of Pembroke lord-high-admiral of England, in order to avoid the factions, the disputes, and divided counsels of a board. The Earl was no sooner promoted to this office, than he sent Captain Loades with three frigates to Cadix,

to bring home the sea-stores and effects belonging to the English in that place, before the war should commence; and this piece of service was successfully performed. The French King, in order to enjoy all the advantages that could be derived from his union with Spain, established a company, to open a trade with Mexico and Peru; and concluded a new asiento-treaty for supplying the Spanish plantations with Negroes. At the same time, he sent a strong squadron to the port of Cadiz. The French dress was introduced into the court of Spain; and, by a formal edict, the grandees of that kingdom and the peers of France were put on a level in each nation. There was no vigor left in the councils of Spain: her finances were exhausted; and her former spirit seemed to be quite extinguished; the nobility were beggars, and the common people overwhelmed with indigence and distress. The condition of France was not much more prosperous. She had been harassed by a long war, and now saw herself on the eve of another, which in all probability would render her completely miserable.

§ LVIII. These circumstances were well known to the Emperor and the maritime powers, and served to animate their negotiations for another grand alliance. Conferences were opened at the Hague; and, on the seventh day of September, a treaty was concluded between his Imperial Majesty, England, and the States-General. The objects proposed, were to procure satisfaction to the Emperor in the Spanish succession, and sufficient security for the dominions and commerce of the allies. They engaged to use their

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endeavours for recovering the Spanish Netherlands, as a barrier between Holland and France; and for putting the Emperor in possession of the duchy of Milan, Naples, and Sicily, with the lands and islands upon the coast of Tuscany belonging to the Spanish dominions. They agreed, that the King of England, and the States-General, should keep and possess whatever lands and cities they could conquer from the Spaniards in the Indies: That the confederates should faithfully communicate their designs to one another: That no party should treat of peace, or truce, but jointly with the rest: That they should concur in preventing the union of France and Spain under the same government; and hinder the French from possessing the Spanish Indies: That, in concluding a peace, the confederates should provide for the maintenance of the commerce carried on by the maritime powers to the dominions taken from the Spaniards, and secure the states by a barrier: That they should, at the same time, settle the exercise of religion in the new conquests: That they should assist one another with all their forces, in case of being invaded by the French King, or any other potentate, on account of this alliance: That a defensive alliance should remain between them, even after the peace: That all kings, princes, and states should be at liberty to engage in this alliance. They determined to employ two months, to obtain, by amicable means, the satisfaction and security which they demanded; and stipulated, that within six weeks the treaty should be ratified.

§ LIX. On the sixteenth day of September, King James expired at St. Germain's, after having labored under a tedious indisposition. This unfortunate monarch, since the miscarriage of his last attempt for recovering his throne, had laid aside all thoughts of worldly grandeur, and devoted his whole attention to the concerns of his soul. Though he could not prevent the busy genius of his Queen from planning new schemes of restoration, he was always best pleased when wholly detached from such chimerical projects. Hunting was his chief diversion; but religion was his constant care. Nothing could be more harmless than the life he led; and, in the course of it, he subjected himself to uncommon penance and mortification. He frequently visited the poor monks of La Trappe, who were much edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper seem to have vanished with his greatness. He became affable, kind, and easy to all his dependents; and his religion certainly opened and improved the virtues of his heart, though it seemed to impair the faculties of his soul. In his last illness he conjured his son to prefer his religion to every worldly advantage, and even to renounce all thoughts of a crown, if he could not enjoy it without offering violence to his *faith*. He recommended to him the practice of justice and Christian forgiveness; he himself declaring, that he heartily forgave the Prince of Orange, the Emperor, and all his enemies. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the English Benedictines in Paris, without any funeral solemnity.

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§ LX. Before his death he was visited by the French King, who seemed touched with his condition, and declared, that, in case of his death, he would own his son as King of England. This promise James's Queen had already extorted from him, by the interest of Madam de Maintenon and the Dauphin. Accordingly, when James died, the pretended Prince of Wales was proclaimed King of England at St. Germain's, and treated as such at the court of Versailles. His title was likewise recognised by the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and the Pope. William was no sooner informed of this transaction, than he dispatched a courier to the King of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryswick, to complain of this manifest violation. At the same time, he recalled the Earl of Manchester from Paris, and ordered him to return without taking an audience of leave. That nobleman immediately withdrew, after having intimated to the Marquis de Torcy the order he had received. Louis, in vindication of his own conduct, dispersed through all the courts of Europe a manifesto, in which he affirmed, that in owning the Prince of Wales as King of England he had not infringed any article of the treaty of Ryswick. He confessed, that in the fourth article, he had promised that he would not disturb the King of Great Britain in the peaceable possession of his dominions; and he declared his intention was to observe that promise punctually. He observed, that his generosity would not allow him to abandon the Prince of Wales or his family: that he could not refuse him a title which was due to him by birth; that he had more reason to complain of the King

of Great-Britain, and the States-General, whose declarations and preparations in favor of the Emperor might be regarded as real contraventions to treaties: finally, he quoted some instances from history, in which the children enjoyed the titles of kingdoms which their fathers had lost. These reasons, however, would hardly have induced the French King to take such a step, had not he perceived that a war with England was inevitable; and that he should be able to reap some advantages in the course of it, from espousing the cause of the Pretender.

§ LXI. The substance of the French manifesto was published in London, by Pouffin, the secretary of Tallard, who had been left in England, as agent for the court of Versailles. He was now ordered to leave the kingdom, which was filled with indignation at Louis, for having pretended to declare who ought to be their sovereign. The city of London presented an address to the lords-justices, expressing the deepest resentment of the French King's presumption; assuring his Majesty, that they would, at all times, exert the utmost of their abilities for the preservation of his person, and the defence of his just rights, in opposition to all invaders of his crown and dignity. Addresses of the same nature were sent up from all parts of the kingdom, and could not but be agreeable to William. He had now concerted measures for acting with vigor against France; and he resolved to revisit his kingdom, after having made a considerable progress in a treaty of perpetual alliance between England and the States-General, which was

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afterwards brought to perfection by his plenipotentiary, the Earl of Marlborough. The King's return, however, was delayed a whole month by a severe indisposition, during which, the Spanish minister, de Quiros hired certain physicians, to consult together upon the state and nature of his distemper. They declared, that he could not out-live many weeks, and this opinion was transmitted to Madrid. William, however, baffled the prognostic, though his constitution had sustained such a rude shock, that he himself perceived his end was near. He told the Earl of Portland, he found himself so weak, that he could not expect to live another summer: but charged him to conceal this circumstance until he should be dead. Notwithstanding this near approach to dissolution, he exerted himself with surprising diligence and spirit in establishing the confederacy, and settling the plan of operations. A subsidiary treaty was concluded with the King of Prussia, who engaged to furnish a certain number of troops. The Emperor agreed to maintain ninety thousand men in the field against France, the proportion of the states was limited to one hundred and two thousand; and that of England did not exceed forty thousand, to act in conjunction with the allies.

§ LXII. On the fourth day of November the King arrived in England, which he found in a strange ferment, produced from the mutual animosity of the two factions. They reviled each other in words and writing with all the falshood of calumny, and all the bitterness of rancor: so that truth, candor, and temperance seemed to be banished by consent of

both parties. The King had found himself deceived in his new ministers, who had opposed his measures with all their influence. He was particularly disgusted with the deportment of the Earl of Rochester, who proved altogether imperious and untractable; and, instead of moderating, inflamed the violence of his party. The King declared the year in which that nobleman directed his councils was the uneasiest of his whole life. He could not help expressing his displeasure in such a coldness of reserve, that Rochester told him he would serve his Majesty no longer, since he did not enjoy his confidence. William made no answer to this expostulation, but resolved he should see him no more. The Earl, however, at the desire of Mr. Harley, became more pliant and submissive; and, after the King's departure for Holland, repaired to his government of Ireland, in which he now remained, exerting all his endeavours to acquire popularity. William, foreseeing nothing but opposition from the present spirit of the House of Commons, closetted some of their leaders, with a view to bespeak their compliance: but finding them determined to pursue their former principles, and to insist upon their impeachments, he resolved, with the advice of his friends, to dissolve the parliament. This step he was the more easily induced to take, as the Commons were become extremely odious to the nation in general, which breathed nothing but war and defiance against the French monarch. The parliament was accordingly dissolved by proclamation, and another summoned to meet on the thirtieth day of December.

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§ LXIII. Never did the two parties proceed with such heat and violence against each other, as in their endeavours to influence the new elections. The Whigs, however, obtained the victory, as they included the monied-interest, which will always prevail among the borough-electors. Corruption was now reduced into an open and avowed commerce; and, had not the people been so universally venal and profligate, that no sense of shame remained, the victors must have blushed for their success. Though the majority thus obtained was staunch to the measures of the court, the choice of Speaker fell upon Mr. Harley, contrary to the inclination of the King, who favored Sir Thomas Lyttelton: but his Majesty's speech was received with universal applause. It was so much admired by the well-wishers to the Revolution, that they printed it with decorations, in the English, Dutch, and French languages. It appeared as a piece of furniture in all their houses, and as the King's last legacy to his own and all protestant people. In this celebrated harangue, he expatiated upon the indignity offered to the nation by the French King's acknowledging the pretended Prince of Wales: he explained the dangers to which it was exposed, by his placing his grandson on the throne of Spain: he gave them to understand he had concluded several alliances, according to the encouragement given him by both Houses of parliament, which alliances should be laid before them, together with other treaties still depending. He observed, that the eyes of all Europe were upon this parliament; and all matters at a stand, until their resolution should be known:

therefore, no time ought to be lost. He told them they had yet an opportunity to secure for themselves and their posterity the quiet enjoyment of their religion and liberties, if they were not wanting to themselves, but would exert the ancient vigor of the English nation : but he declared his opinion was, that should they neglect this occasion, they had no reason to hope for another. He said it would be necessary to maintain a great strength at sea, and a force on land proportionable to that of their allies. He pressed the Commons to support the public credit, which could not be preserved without keeping sacred that maxim, That they shall never be losers who trust to the parliamentary security. He declared, that he never asked aids from his people without regret : that what he desired was for their own safety and honor, at such a critical time ; and that the whole should be appropriated to the purposes for which it was intended. He expressed his willingness that the accounts should be yearly submitted to the inspection of parliament. He again recommended dispatch, together with good bills for employing the poor, encouraging trade, and suppressing vice. He expressed his hope that they were come together, determined to avoid disputes and differences, and to act with a hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause. He said he should think it as great a blessing as could befall England, if they were as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities which divided and weakened them, as he was disposed to make all his subjects safe and easy, as to any, even the highest offences committed against his person. He conjured

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them to disappoint the hopes of their enemies by their unanimity. As he had always shown, and always would show, how desirous he was to be the common father of all his people, he desired they would lay aside parties and divisions, so as that no distinction should be heard of amongst them, but of those who were friends to the protestant religion and present establishment, and of those who wished for a popish prince and a French government. He concluded by affirming, that if they, in good earnest, desired to see England hold the balance of Europe, and be indeed at the head of the protestant interest, it would appear by their improving the present opportunity. The Lords immediately drew up a warm and affectionate address, in which they expressed their resentment of the proceedings of the French King, in owning the pretended Prince of Wales for King of England. They assured his Majesty they would assist him to the utmost of their power against all his enemies: and when it should please God to deprive them of his Majesty's protection, they would vigorously assist and defend against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders whatsoever, every person and persons who had right to succeed to the crown of England, by virtue of the acts of parliament for establishing and limiting the succession. On the fifth day of January, an address to the same effect was presented by the Commons, and both met with a very gracious reception from his Majesty. The Lords, as a further proof of their zeal, having taken into consideration the dangers that threatened Europe, from the accession of the Duke of Anjou to the crown

of Spain, drew up another address, explaining their sense of that danger; stigmatizing the French King as a violator of treaties; declaring their opinion, that his Majesty, his subjects, and allies, could never be safe and secure, until the house of Austria should be restored to their rights, and the invader of the Spanish monarchy brought to reason; and assuring his Majesty that no time should be lost, nor any thing wanting on their parts, which might answer the reasonable expectations of their friends abroad; not doubting but to support the reputation of the English name, when engaged under so great a Prince, in the glorious cause of maintaining the liberty of Europe.

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§ LXIV. The King, in order to acquire the confidence of the Commons, ordered Mr. Secretary Vernon to lay before them copies of the treaties and conventions he had lately concluded, which were so well approved, that the House unanimously voted the supply. By another vote, they authorized the Exchequer to borrow six hundred thousand pounds at six per cent. for the service of the fleet, and fifty thousand pounds for the subsistence of guards and garrisons. They deliberated upon the state of the navy, with the debt due upon it and examined an estimate of what would be necessary for extraordinary repairs. They called for an account of that part of the national debt for which no provision had been made. They ordered the Speaker to write to the trustees for the forfeited estates in Ireland, to attend the House with a full detail of their proceedings in the execution of that act of parliament. On the ninth day of January, they unanimously resolved, That leave be given to bring

B O O K in a bill for securing his Majesty's person, and the
I. succession of the crown in the protestant line, for
1701. extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and secret abettors. They resolved to address his Majesty, that he would insert an article in all his treaties of alliance, importing, That no peace should be made with France, until his Majesty and the nation have reparation for the great indignity offered by the French King, in owning, and declaring the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They agreed to maintain forty thousand men for the sea-service, and a like number by land, to act in conjunction with the forces of the allies, according to the proportions settled by the contracting powers. The supplies were raised by an imposition of four shillings in the pound upon lands, annuities, pensions, and stipends, and on the profits arising from the different professions: by a tax of two and one-half per cent. on all stock in trade, and money at interest; of five shillings in the pound on all salaries, fees, and perquisites; a capitation-tax of four shillings: an imposition of one per cent. on all shares in the capital stock of any corporation or company which should be bought, sold, or bargained for; a duty of sixpence per bushel on malt, and a further duty on mum, cider, and perry.

§ LXV. The Commons seemed to vie with the Lords in their zeal for the government. They brought in a bill for attainting the pretended Prince of Wales, which being sent up to the other House, passed with an additional clause of attainder against the Queen,

who acted as regent for the Pretender. This, however, was not carried without great opposition in the House of Lords. When the bill was sent back to the Commons, they excepted to the amendment as irregular. They observed, that attainders by bill constituted the most rigorous part of the law; and that the stretching of it ought to be avoided. They proposed, that the Queen should be attainted by a separate bill. The Lords assented to the proposal: and the bill against the pretended Prince of Wales passed. The Lords passed another for attainting the Queen; however, it was neglected in the House of Commons. But the longest and warmest debates of this session were produced by a bill, which the Lords brought in, for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, and swearing to the King, by title of rightful and lawful king, and his heirs, according to the act of settlement. It was proposed, that this oath should be voluntary, tendered to all persons, and their subscription or refusal recorded without any other penalty. This article was violently opposed by the Earl of Nottingham, and other lords of the Tory-interest. They observed, that the government was first settled with another oath, which was like an original contract: so that there was no occasion for a new imposition: that oaths relating to men's opinions had been always considered as severe impositions, and that a voluntary oath was in its own nature unlawful. During these disputes, another bill of abjuration was brought into the House of Commons by Sir Charles Hedges, that should be obligatory on all persons who enjoyed employments in church or state; it likewise included

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an obligation to maintain the government in King, Lords, and Commons, and to maintain the church of England, together with the toleration for dissenters. Warm debates arose upon the question, Whether the oath should be imposed or voluntary? and at length it was carried for imposition, by the majority of one voice. They agreed to insert an additional clause, declaring it equally penal to compass or imagine the death of her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, as it was to compass or imagine the death of the King's eldest son and heir. In the House of Peers this bill was strenuously opposed by the Tories; and, when after long debates it passed on the twenty-fourth day of February, ten Lords entered a protest against it, as an unnecessary and severe imposition.

§ LXVI. The whole nation now seemed to join in the cry for a war with France. Party-heats began to abate: the factions in the city of London were in a great measure moderated by the union of the two companies trading to the East-Indies, which found their mutual interest required a coalition. The Tories in the House of Commons having concurred so heartily with the inclinations of the people, resolved, as far as it lay in their power, to justify the conduct of their party in the preceding parliament. They complained of some petitions and addresses which had reflected upon the proceedings of the last House of Commons, and particularly of the Kentish petition. The majority, however, determined, that it was the undoubted right of the people of England to petition or address the King, for the calling, sitting,

or dissolving of parliaments, and for the redressing of grievances; and that every subject under any accusation, either by impeachment or otherwise, had a right to be brought to a speedy trial. A complaint being likewise made, that the Lords had denied the Commons justice in the matter of the late impeachments, a furious debate ensued; and it was carried by a very small majority that justice had not been denied. In some points, however, they succeeded. In the case of a controverted election at Maidstone, between Thomas Blisse and Thomas Culpepper, the House resolved, That the latter had been not only guilty of corrupt, scandalous, and indirect practices, in endeavouring to procure himself to be elected a burges, but likewise, being one of the instruments in promoting and presenting the scandalous, insolent, and seditious petition, commonly called the Kentish petition, to the last House of Commons, was guilty of promoting a scandalous, villanous, and groundless reflection upon that House, by aspersing the members with receiving French money, or being in the interest of France; for which offence he was ordered to be committed to Newgate, and to be prosecuted by his Majesty's attorney-general. They also resolved, That to assert that the House of Commons is not the only representative of the Commons of England tends to the subversion of the rights and privileges of the House of Commons, and the fundamental constitution of the government of this kingdom: That to assert, that the House of Commons have no power of commitment, but of their own members, tends to the subversion of the constitution of the House of

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Commons: That to print or publish any books, or libels, reflecting upon the proceedings of the House of Commons, or any member thereof, for or relating to his service therein, is a high violation of the rights and privileges of the House of Commons. Notwithstanding these transactions, they did not neglect the vigorous prosecution of the war. They addressed his Majesty to interpose with his allies, that they might increase their quotas of land-forces, to be put on board the fleet in proportion to the numbers his Majesty should embark. When they had settled the sums appropriated to the several uses of the war, they presented a second address, desiring he would provide for the half-pay officers in the first place, in the recruits and levies to be made. The King assured them it was always his intention to provide for those officers. He went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to an act, appointing commissioners to take, examine, and determine the debts due to the army, navy, and the transport-service; and also to take an account of prizes taken during the war.

§ LXVII. The affairs of Ireland were not a little embarrassed by the conduct of trustees appointed to take cognizance of the forfeited estates. Their office was extremely odious to the people, as well as to the court, and their deportment was arbitrary and imperious. Several individuals of that kingdom, provoked by the insolence of the trustees on one hand, and encouraged by the countenance of the courtiers on the other, endeavoured, by a circular letter, to spirit up the grand-jury of Ireland against the

the act of resumption: petitions were presented to the King, couched in very strong terms, affirming, that it was injurious to the protestant interest, and had been obtained by gross misinformations. The King having communicated these addresses to the House, they were immediately voted scandalous, false, and groundless: and the Commons resolved, That, notwithstanding the complaints and clamors against the trustees, it did not appear to the House but those complaints were groundless: nevertheless they afterwards received several petitions, imploring relief against the said act; and they ordered that the petitioners should be relieved accordingly. Proposals were delivered in for incorporating such as should purchase the said forfeitures, on certain terms therein specified, according to the rent-roll, when verified and made good to the purchasers: but, whereas in this rent-roll the value of the estates had been estimated at something more than seven hundred and sixteen thousand pounds, those who undertook to make the purchase affirmed they were not worth five hundred thousand pounds; and thus the affair remained in suspense.

§ LXVIII. With respect to Scotland, the clamors of that kingdom had not yet subsided. When the bill of abjuration passed in the House of Peers, the Earl of Nottingham had declared, that although he differed in opinion from the majority in many particulars relating to that bill, yet he was a friend to the design of it; and, in order to secure a protestant succession, he thought an union of the whole island was absolutely necessary. He, therefore, moved for an address to the King, that he would dissolve the parliament of

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Scotland now fitting, as the legality of it might be called in question, on account of its having been originally a convention; and that a new parliament should be summoned, that they might treat about an union of the two kingdoms. The King had this affair so much at heart, that even when he was disabled from going to the parliament in person, he sent a letter to the Commons, expressing an eager desire that a treaty for this purpose might be set on foot, and earnestly recommending this affair to the consideration of the House: but, as a new parliament in Scotland could not be called without a great risque, while the nation was in such a ferment, the project was postponed to a more favorable opportunity.

§ LXIX. Before the King's return from Holland, he had concerted with his allies the operations of the ensuing campaign. He had engaged in a negociation with the Prince of Hesse - Darmstadt, who assured him, that if he would besiege and take Cadix, the Admiral of Castile, and divers other grandees of Spain, would declare for the house of Austria. The allies had also determined upon the siege of Kayserfwaert, which the Elector of Cologne had delivered into the hands of the French: the Elector of Hanover had resolved to disarm the Prince of Wolfenbuttle: the King of the Romans, and Prince Louis of Baden, undertook to invest Landau: and the Emperor promised to send a powerful re-enforcement to Prince Eugene in Italy: but William did not live to see these schemes put in execution. His constitution was by this time almost exhausted, though he endeavoured to conceal the effects of his malady, and to repair his

health by exercise. On the twenty-first day of February, in riding to Hampton-court from Kensington, his horse fell under him, and he himself was thrown upon the ground with such violence, as produced a fracture in his collar-bone. His attendants conveyed him to the palace of Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced by Ronjat, his serjeant-furgeon. In the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach, and the two ends of the fractured bone having been disunited by the jolting of the carriage, were replaced under the inspection of Bidloo, his physician. He seemed to be in a fair way of recovering till the first day of March, when his knee appeared to be inflamed, with great pain and weakness. Next day he granted a commission under the great seal to several peers, for passing the bills to which both Houses of Parliament had agreed, namely, the act of attainder against the pretended Prince of Wales; and another in favor of the Quakers, enacting, That their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form.

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§ LXX. On the fourth day of March the King was so well recovered of his lameness, that he took several turns in the gallery at Kensington; but, sitting down on a couch where he fell asleep, he was seized with a shivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhœa. He was attended by Sir Thomas Millington, Sir Richard Blackmore, Sir Theodore Colledon, Dr. Bidloo, and other eminent physicians; but their prescriptions proved ineffectual. On the sixth he granted another commission for passing the bill for

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the malt-tax, and the act of abjuration; and, being so weak that he could not write his name, he, in presence of the Lord-keeper and the clerks of parliament, applied a stamp prepared for the purpose. The Earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad: but he received his informations with great coldness, and said, "*Je tire vers ma fin.* — I approach the end of my life." In the evening he thanked Dr. Bidloo for his care and tenderness, saying, "I know that you and the other learned physicians have done all that your art can do for my relief; but, finding all means ineffectual, I submit." He received spiritual consolation from Archbishop Tenison, and Burnet Bishop of Salisbury: on Sunday morning the sacrament was administered to him. The lords of the privy-council, and divers noblemen attended in the adjoining apartments, and to some of them who were admitted he spoke a little. He thanked Lord Auverquerque for his long and faithful services: he delivered to Lord Albemarle the keys of his closet and scrutoire, telling him he knew what to do with them. He inquired for the Earl of Portland; but, being speechless before that nobleman arrived, he grasped his hand, and laid it to his heart, with marks of the most tender affection. On the eighth day of March he expired, in the fifty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years. The Lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were in waiting, no sooner perceived the King was dead, than they ordered Ronjat to untie from his left arm a black ribbon, to which was affixed a ring, containing

some hair of the late Queen Mary. The body being opened and embalmed, lay in state for some time at Kensington; and on the twelfth day of April was deposited in a vault of Henry's chapel in Westminster - Abbey. In the beginning of May, a will which he had intrusted with Monsieur Schuylemberg was opened at the Hague. In this he had declared his cousin Prince Frison of Nassau, Stadtholder of Friesland, his sole and universal heir, and appointed the States-General his executors. By a codicil annexed, he had bequeathed the lordship of Breevert, and a legacy of two hundred thousand guilders, to the Earl of Albemarle.

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§ LXXI. William III. was in his person of the middle stature, a thin body, a delicate constitution, subject to an asthma and continual cough from his infancy. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave solemn aspect. He was very sparing of speech: his conversation was dry, and his manner disgusting, except in battle, when his deportment was free, spirited, and animating. In courage, fortitude, and equanimity, he rivalled the most eminent warriors of antiquity; and his natural sagacity made amends for the defects in his education, which had not been properly superintended. He was religious, temperate, generally just and sincere, a stranger to violent transports of passion, and might have passed for one of the best princes of the age in which he lived, had he never ascended the throne of Great - Britain. But the distinguishing criterion of his character was ambition. To this he sacrificed the punctilios of honor and decorum, in deposing

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his own father-in-law and uncle; and this he gratified at the expence of the nation that raised him to sovereign authority. He aspired to the honor of acting as umpire in all the contests of Europe; and the second object of his attention was, the prosperity of that country to which he owed his birth and extraction. Whether he really thought the interest of the continent and Great-Britain were inseparable, or sought only to drag England into the confederacy as a convenient ally, certain it is, he involved these kingdoms in foreign connexions, which, in all probability, will be productive of their ruin. In order to establish this favorite point, he scrupled not to employ all the engines of corruption, by which the morals of the nation were totally debauched. He procured a parliamentary sanction for a standing army, which now seems to be interwoven in the constitution. He introduced the pernicious practice of borrowing upon remote funds; an expedient that necessarily hatched a brood of usurers, brokers, contractors, and stock-jobbers, to prey upon the vitals of their country. He entailed upon the nation a growing debt, and a system of politics big with misery, despair, and destruction. To sum up his character in a few words—William was a fatalist in religion, indefatigable in war, enterprising in politics, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and a imperious sovereign¹⁰.

¹⁰ Burnet. Oldmixon. Boyer. Lamberty. State-Tracts. Tindal. Ralph. Voltaire.

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§ I. *Anne succeeds to the throne.* II. *She resolves to fulfil the engagements of her predecessor with his allies.* III. *A French memorial presented to the States-General.* IV. *The Queen's inclination to the Tories.* V. *War declared against France.* VI. *The parliament prorogued.* VII. *Warm opposition to the ministry in the Scottish parliament.* VIII. *They recognise her Majesty's authority.* IX. *The Queen appoints commissioners to treat of an union between England and Scotland.* X. *State of affairs on the continent.* XI. *Kayserswaert and Landau taken by the allies.* XII. *Progress of the Earl of Marlborough in Flanders.* XIII. *He narrowly escapes being taken by a French partisan.* XIV. *The Imperialists are worsted at Fridlingen.* XV. *Battle of Luzzara, in Italy.* XVI. *The King of Sweden defeats Augustus at Lissou in Poland.* XVII. *Fruitless expedition to Cadix by the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rook.* XVIII. *They take and destroy the Spanish galleons at Vigo.* XIX. *Admiral Benbow's engagement with Ducasse in the West-Indies.* XX. *The Queen assembles a new parliament.* XXI. *Disputes between the two Houses.* XXII. *The Lords inquire into the conduct of Sir George Rook.* XXIII. *The Parliament make a settlement on Prince George of Denmark.* XXIV. *The Earl of Marlborough created a Duke.* XXV. *All commerce and correspondence prohibited between Holland and the two crowns of*

France and Spain. XXVI. A bill for preventing occasional conformity. XXVII. It miscarries. XXVIII. Violent animosity between the two Houses, produced by the inquiry into the public accounts. XXIX. Disputes between the two Houses of Convocation. XXX. Account of the parties in Scotland. XXXI. Dangerous heats in the parliament of that kingdom. XXXII. The commissioner is abandoned by the Cavaliers. XXXIII. He is in danger of his life, and suddenly prorogues the parliament. XXXIV. Proceedings of the Irish parliament. XXXV. They pass a severe act against papists. XXXVI. The Elector of Bavaria defeats the Imperialists at Scardingen, and takes possession of Ratisbon. XXXVII. The allies reduce Bonne. XXXVIII. Battle of Eckeren. XXXIX. The Prince of Hesse is defeated by the French at Spirebach. XL. Treaty between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy. The King of Portugal accedes to the grand alliance. XLI. Sir Cloudesley Shovel sails with a fleet to the Mediterranean. XLII. Admiral Graydon's bootless expedition to the West-Indies. XLIII. Charles King of Spain arrives in England.

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§ I. **W**ILLIAM was succeeded as sovereign of England by Anne Princess of Denmark, who ascended the throne in the thirty - eighth year of her age, to the general satisfaction of all parties. Even the Jacobites seemed pleased with her elevation, on the supposition, that as in all probability she would leave no heirs of her own body, the dictates of natural affection would induce her to alter the succession in

favor of her own brother. She had been taught to cherish warm sentiments of the Tories, whom she considered as the friends of monarchy, and the true sons of the church; and they had always professed an inviolable attachment to her person and interest; but her conduct was wholly influenced by the Countess of Marlborough, a woman of an imperious temper and intriguing genius, who had been intimate with the Princess from her tender years, and gained a surprising ascendancy over her. Anne had undergone some strange vicissitudes of fortune in consequence of her father's expulsion, and sustained a variety of mortifications in the late reign, during which she conducted herself with such discretion, as left little or no pretence for censure or resentment. Such conduct, indeed, was in a great measure owing to a natural temperance of disposition, not easily ruffled or inflamed. She was zealously devoted to the church of England, from which her father had used some endeavours to detach her before the Revolution; and she lived in great harmony with her husband, to whom she bore six children, all of whom she had already survived. William had no sooner yielded up his breath, than the privy-council in a body waited on the new Queen, who, in a short but sensible speech, assured them, that no pains nor diligence should be wanting on her part, to preserve and support the religion, laws, and liberties of her country, to maintain the succession in the protestant line, and the government in church and state, as by law established. She declared her resolution to carry on the preparations for opposing

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BOOK the exorbitant power of France, and to assure the
 1. allies, that she would pursue the true interest of
 1701. England, together with their's, for the support of
 the common cause. The members of the privy-
 council having taken the oaths, she ordered a pro-
 clamations to be published, signifying her pleasure,
 that all persons in office of authority or government,
 at the decease of the late king, should so continue
 till further directions. By virtue of an act passed in
 the late reign, the parliament continued sitting even
 after the King's death. Both Houses met immediately,
 and unanimously voted an address of condolence
 and congratulation; and, in the afternoon, the
 Queen was proclaimed. Next day the Lords and
 Commons severally attended her with an address,
 congratulating her Majesty's accession to the throne;
 and, assuring her of their firm resolution to support
 her against all her enemies whatsoever. The Lords
 acknowledged, that their great loss was no other-
 wise to be repaired but by a vigorous adherence to
 her Majesty and her allies, in the prosecution of
 those measures already concerted to reduce the ex-
 orbitant power of France. The Commons declared,
 they would maintain the succession of the crown in
 the protestant line, and effectually provide for the
 public credit of the nation. These addresses were gra-
 ciously received by the Queen, who, on the ele-
 venth day of March, went to the House of Peers with
 the usual solemnity, where, in a speech to both Hou-
 ses, she expressed her satisfaction at their unanimous
 concurrence with her opinion, that too much could

not be done for the encouragement of their allies in humbling the power of France; and desired they would consider of proper methods towards obtaining an union between England and Scotland. She observed to the Commons, that the revenue for defraying the expenses of the civil government was expired; and that she relied entirely on their affection for its being supplied in such a manner as should be most suitable to the honor and dignity of the crown. She declared it should be her constant endeavour to make them the best return for their duty and affection, by a careful and diligent administration for the good of all her subjects. "And as I know my own heart to be entirely English (continued she) I can very sincerely assure you, there is not any thing you can expect or desire from me, which I shall not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England; and you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word." These assurances were extremely agreeable to the parliament; and she received the thanks of both Houses. Addresses of congratulation were presented by the bishop and clergy of London; by the dissenters in and about that city; and by all the counties, cities, towns, and corporations of England. She declared her attachment to the church: she promised her protection to the dissenters; and received the compliments of all her subjects with such affability as insured their affection.

§ II. William's death was no sooner known at the Hague, than all Holland was filled with consternation. The States immediately assembled, and, for

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some time, gazed at each other in silent fear and astonishment. They sighed, wept, and interchanged embraces and vows, that they would act with unanimity, and expend their dearest blood in defence of their country. Then they dispatched letters to the cities and provinces, informing them of this unfortunate event, and exhorting them to union and perseverance. The express from England having brought the Queen's speech to her privy-council, it was translated and published, to revive the drooping spirits of the people. Next day Pensionary Fagel imparted to the States of Holland a letter which he had received from the Earl of Marlborough, containing assurances, in the Queen's name, of union and assistance. In a few days, the Queen wrote a letter in the French language to the States, confirming these assurances: it was delivered by Mr. Stanhope, whom she had furnished with fresh credentials as envoy from England. Thus animated, the States resolved to prosecute vigorous measures: their resolutions were still more inspirited by the arrival of the Earl of Marlborough, whom the Queen honored with the order of the garter, and invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-General: he was likewise declared captain-general of her forces both at home and abroad. He assured the States, that her Britannic Majesty would maintain the alliances which had been concluded by the late King, and do every thing that the common concerns of Europe required. The speech was answered by Dickveldt, president of the week, who, in the name of the States, expressed their hearty

thanks to her Majesty, and their resolution of concurring with her in a vigorous prosecution of the common interest.

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§ III. The importance of William's life was evinced by the joy that diffused itself through the kingdom of France at the news of his decease. The person who first brought the tidings to Calais was imprisoned by the governor, until his information was confirmed. The court of Versailles could hardly restrain their transports so as to preserve common decorum: the people of Paris openly rejoiced at the event: all decency was laid aside at Rome, where this incident produced such indecent raptures, that Cardinal Grimani, the Imperial minister, complained of them to the Pope, as an insult on his master the Emperor, who was William's friend, confederate, and ally. The French King dispatched credentials to Barre, whom the Count d'Avaux had left at the Hague to manage the affairs of France, together with instructions to renew the negociation with the States, in hope of detaching them from the alliance. This minister presented a memorial, implying severe reflections on King William, and the past conduct of the Dutch; and insinuating, that now they had recovered their liberty, the court of France hoped they would consult their true interest. The Count de Goes, envoy from the Emperor, animadverted on these expressions in another memorial, which was likewise published: the States produced in public an answer to the same remonstrance, expressing their resentment at the insolence of such insinuations, and their veneration for the memory of their late Stadtholder. The

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Earl of Marlborough succeeded in every part of his negociation. He animated the Dutch to a full exertion of their vigor: he concerted the operations of the campaign: he agreed with the States-General and the Imperial minister, that war should be declared against France on the same day, at Vienna, London, and the Hague; and on the third of April embarked for England, after having acquired the entire confidence of those who governed the United Provinces.

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§ IV. By this time the House of Commons in England had settled the civil list upon the Queen for her life. When the bill received the royal assent, she assured them, that one hundred thousand pounds of this revenue should be applied to the public service of the current year: at the same time, she passed another bill, for receiving and examining the public accounts. A commission for this purpose was granted in the preceeding reign, but had been for some years discontinued; and, indeed, always proved ineffectual to detect and punish those individuals who shamefully pillaged their country. The villany was so complicated, the vice so general, and the delinquent so powerfully screened by artifice and interest, as to elude all inquiry. On the twenty-fourth day of March the oath of abjuration was taken by the Speaker and members, according to an act for the further security of her Majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales. The Queen's inclination to the Tories plainly appeared in her choice of Ministers. Doctor

John Sharp, Archbishop of York, became her ghostly director and counsellor in all ecclesiastical affairs. The Earl of Rochester was continued Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and enjoyed a great share of her Majesty's confidence: the privy-seal was intrusted to the Marquis of Normanby: the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges were appointed Secretaries of State: the Earl of Abingdon, Viscount Weymouth, Lord Dartmouth, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Grenville, Howe, Gower, and Harcourt, were admitted as members of the privy-council, together with Sir Edward Seymour, now declared comptroller of the household. The Lord Godolphin declined accepting the office of lord-high-treasurer, until he was over-ruled by the persuasions of Marlborough, to whose eldest daughter his son was married. This nobleman refused to command the forces abroad, unless the Treasury should be put into the hands of Godolphin, on whose punctuality in point of remittances he knew he could depend. George Prince of Denmark, was invested with the title of generalissimo of all the Queen's forces by sea and land; and afterwards created lord high-admiral, the Earl of Pembroke having been dismissed from this office with the offer of a large pension, which he generously refused. Prince George, as admiral, was assisted by a council, consisting of Sir George Rook, Sir David Mitchel, George Churchill, and Richard Hill. Though the legality of this board was doubted, the parliament had such respect and veneration for the Queen, that it was suffered to act without question.

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§ V. A rivalship for the Queen's favor already appeared between the Earls of Rochester and Marlborough. The former, as first cousin to the Queen, and chief of the Tory-faction, maintained considerable influence in the council: but even there the interest of his rival predominated. Marlborough was not only the better courtier, but, by the canal of his countess, actually directed the Queen in all her resolutions. Rochester proposed in council, that the English should avoid a declaration of war with France, and act as auxiliaries only. He was seconded by some other members: but the opinion of Marlborough preponderated. He observed, that the honor of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late King's engagements; and affirmed that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unless the English would enter as principals in the quarrel. This allegation was supported by the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, the Earl of Pembroke, and the majority of the council. The Queen being resolved to declare war, communicated her intention to the House of Commons, by whom it was approved; and on the fourth day of May the declaration was solemnly proclaimed. The King of France was, in this proclamation, taxed with having taken possession of great part of the Spanish dominions; with designing to invade the liberties of Europe, and obstruct the freedom of navigation and commerce; with having offered an unpardonable insult to the Queen and her throne, by taking upon him to declare the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The three declarations of the Emperor,

Emperor, England, and the States-General, which were published in one day, did not fail to disconcert, as well as to provoke, the French monarch. When his minister De Torcy-recited them in his hearing, he spoke of the Queen with some acrimony; but with respect to the States-General, he declared with great emotion, that "Messieurs the Dutch merchants should one day repent of their insolence and presumption, in declaring war against so powerful a monarch;" he did not, however, produce his declaration till the third day of July.

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§ VI. The House of Commons, in compliance with the Queen's desire, brought in a bill, empowering her Majesty to name commissioners to treat with the Scots for an union of the two kingdoms. It met with warm opposition from Sir Edward Seymour, and other Tory-members, who discharged abundance of satire and ridicule upon the Scottish nation: but the measure seemed so necessary at that juncture, to secure the protestant succession against the practices of France, and the claims of the Pretender, that the majority espoused the bill, which passed through both Houses, and on the sixth day of May received the royal assent, together with some bills of less importance. The enemies of the late King continued to revile his memory¹. They even charged him with

¹ In their hours of debauch; they drank to the health of Sorrel, meaning the horse that fell with the King; and, under the appellation of the little gentleman in velvet, toasted the mole that raised the hill over which the horse had stumbled. As the beast had formerly belonged to Sir John Fenwick, they insinuated that William's fate was a judgment upon him, for his cruelty to that gentleman; and a Latin epigram was written on the occasion.

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having formed a design of excluding the Princess Anne from the throne, and of introducing the Elector of Hanover as his own immediate successor. This report had been so industriously circulated, that it began to gain credit all over the kingdom. Several Peers interested themselves in William's character; and a motion was made in the Upper-House, that the truth of this report should be inquired into. The House immediately desired that those Lords who had visited the late King's papers would intimate whether or not they had found any among them relating to the Queen's succession, or to the succession of the House of Hanover. They forthwith declared, that nothing of that sort appeared. Then the House resolved, That the report was groundless, false, villanous, and scandalous, to the dishonor of the late King's memory, and highly tending to the disservice of her present Majesty, whom they besought to give order that the authors or publishers of such scandalous reports should be prosecuted by the Attorney-General. The same censure was passed upon some libels and pamphlets, tending to inflame the factions of the kingdom, and to propagate a spirit of irreligion². On the twenty-first day of May, the Commons, in an address, advised her Majesty to engage the Emperor, the States-General, and her other allies, to join with her in prohibiting all intercourse with France and Spain; and to concert

² Doctor Binkes, in a sermon preached before the convocation, on the thirtieth day of January, drew a parallel between the sufferings of Christ, and those of King Charles, to which last he gave the preference, in point of right, character, and station.

such methods with the States-General as might most effectually secure the trade of her subjects and allies. The Lords presented another address, desiring the Queen would encourage her subjects to equip privateers, as the preparations of the enemy seemed to be made for a piratical war, to the interruption of commerce: they likewise exhorted her Majesty to grant commissions or charters to all persons who should make such acquisitions in the Indies, as she in her great wisdom should judge most expedient for the good of her kingdoms. On the twenty-fifth day of May, the Queen having passed several public and³ private bills, dismissed the parliament by prorogation, after having, in a short speech, thanked them for their zeal, recommended unanimity, and declared she would carefully preserve and maintain the act of toleration.

§ VII. In Scotland a warm contest arose between the Revolutioners and those in the opposition, concerning the existence of the present parliament. The Queen had signified her accession to the throne, in a letter to her privy-council for Scotland, desiring they would continue to act in that office, until she should sent a new commission. Mean while she authorized

³ During this short session, the Queen gave her assent to an act for laying a duty upon land; to another for encouraging the Greenland-trade: to a third for making good the deficiencies, and the public credit: to a fourth for continuing the imprisonment of Counter, and other conspirators against King William: to a fifth for the relief of protestant purchasers of the forfeited estates of Ireland: to a sixth enlarging the time for taking the oath of abjuration: to a seventh obliging the Jews to maintain and provide for their protestant children.

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them to publish a proclamation, ordaining all officers of state, counsellors, and magistrates, to act in all things conformably to the commissions and instructions of his late Majesty, until new commissions should be prepared. She likewise assured them of her firm resolution to protect them in their religion, laws, and liberties, and in the established government of the church. She had already, in presence of twelve Scottish counsellors, taken the coronation-oath for that kingdom: but those who wanted to embroil the affairs of their country affirmed, that this was an irregular way of proceeding, and that the oath ought to have been tendered by persons deputed for that purpose, either by the parliament, or the privy-council of the kingdom. The present ministry, consisting of the Duke of Queensberry, the Earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Seafield, Hyndford, and Selkirk, were devoted to Revolution-principles, and desirous that the parliament should continue, in pursuance of a late act for continuing the parliament that should be then in being, six months after the death of the King; and that it should assemble in twenty days after that event. The Queen had, by several adjournments, deferred the meeting almost three months after the King's decease; and, therefore, the anti-revolutioners affirmed that it was dissolved. The Duke of Hamilton was at the head of this party, which clamored loudly for a new parliament. This nobleman, together with the Marquis of Tweeddale, the Earls Marshal and Rothes, and many other noblemen, repaired to London, in order to make the Queen acquainted with their objections to the continuance of the present parliament. She admitted them to her presence,

and calmly heard their allegations: but she was determined, by the advice of her privy-council for that kingdom, who were of opinion that the nation was in too great a ferment to hazard the convocation of a new parliament. According to the Queen's last adjournment, the parliament met at Edinburgh on the ninth day of June, the Duke of Queensberry having been appointed high-commissioner. Before the Queen's commission was read, the Duke of Hamilton, for himself and his adherents, declared their satisfaction at her Majesty's accession to the throne, not only on account of her undoubted right by descent, but likewise because of her many personal virtues and royal qualities. He said they were resolved to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in defence of her Majesty's right against all her enemies whatever; but at the same time, they thought themselves bound in duty to give their opinion, that they were not warranted by law to sit and act as a parliament. He then read a paper to the following effect: That forasmuch as, by the fundamental laws and constitution of this kingdom, all parliaments do dissolve on the death of their sovereign, except in so far as innovated by an act in the preceding reign, that the parliament in being at his Majesty's decease should meet, and act what might be needful for the defence of the true protestant religion, as by law established; and for the maintenance of the succession to the crown, as settled by the claim of right; and for the preservation and security of the public peace: and seeing these ends are fully answered by her Majesty's succession to the throne, we conceive ourselves not

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now warranted by law to meet, sit, or act; and, therefore, do dissent from any thing that shall be done or acted. The Duke having recited this paper, and formally protested against the proceedings of the parliament, withdrew with seventy-nine members, amidst the acclamations of the people.

§ VIII. Notwithstanding their secession, the commissioner, who retained a much greater number, produced the Queen's letter, signifying her resolution to maintain and protect her subjects in the full possession of their religion, laws, liberties, and the presbyterian discipline. She informed them of her having declared war against France: she exhorted them to provide competent supplies for maintaining such a number of forces as might be necessary for disappointing the enemy's designs, and preserving the present happy settlement; and she earnestly recommended to their consideration an union of the two kingdoms. The Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Marchmont having enforced the different articles of this letter, committees were appointed for the security of the kingdom, for controverted elections, for drawing up an answer to her Majesty's letter, and for revising the minutes. Mean while, the Duke of Hamilton and his adherents sent the Lord Blantyre to London, with an address to the Queen, who refused to receive it, but wrote another letter to the parliament, expressing her resolution to maintain their dignity and authority against all opposers. They, in answer to the former, had assured her, that the groundless secession of some members should increase and strengthen their care and zeal for her Majesty's service.

They expelled Sir Alexander Bruce, for having given vent to some reflections against presbytery. The Lord Advocate prosecuted the faculty of advocates before the parliament, for having passed a vote among themselves in favor of the protestation and address of the dissenting members. The faculty was severely reprimanded; but the whole nation seemed to resent the prosecution. The parliament passed an act for recognising her Majesty's royal authority: another for adjourning the court of judicature called the session: a third declaring this meeting of parliament legal: and forbidding any person to disown, quarrel, or impugn, the dignity and authority thereof, under the penalty of high treason: a fourth for securing the true protestant religion and presbyterian church-government: a fifth for a land-tax; and a sixth enabling her Majesty to appoint commissioners for an union between the two kingdoms.

§ IX. The Earl of Marchmont, of his own accord, and even contrary to the advice of the high-commissioner, brought in a bill for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales: but this was not supported by the court-party, as the commissioner had no instructions how to act on the occasion. Perhaps the Queen and her English ministry resolved to keep the succession open in Scotland, as a check upon the Whigs and house of Hanover. On the thirtieth day of June, the commissioner adjourned the parliament, after having thanked them for their chearfulness and unanimity in their proceedings; and the chiefs of the opposite parties hastened to London, to make their different representations to the Queen and her ministry. In the

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mean time, she appointed commissioners for treating about the union ; and they met at the cockpit on the twenty-second day of October. On the twentieth day of the next month, they adjusted preliminaries, importing That nothing agreed on among themselves should be binding, except ratified by her Majesty and the respective parliaments of both nations ; and that, unless all the heads proposed for the treaty were agreed to, no particular thing agreed on should be binding. The Queen visited them in December, in order to quicken their mutual endeavours. They agreed, that the two kingdoms should be inseparably united into one monarchy, under her Majesty, her heirs, and successors, and under the same limitations, according to the acts of settlement : but, when the Scottish commissioners proposed that the rights and privileges of their company trading to Africa and the Indies should be preserved and maintained, such a difficulty arose as could not be surmounted, and no further progress was made in this commission. The tranquillity of Ireland was not interrupted by any new commotion. That kingdom was ruled by justices whom the Earl of Rochester had appointed ; and the trustees for the forfeited estates maintained their authority.

§ X. While Britain was engaged in these civil transactions, her allies were not idle on the continent. The old Duke of Zell, and his nephew, the Elector of Brunswick, surprised the Dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha, whom they compelled to renounce their attachments to France, and concur in the common councils of the empire. Thus the north of Germany

was re-united in the interest of the confederates; and the princes would have been in a condition to assist them effectually, had not the neighbourhood of the war in Poland deterred them from parting with their forces. England and the States-General endeavoured in vain to mediate a peace between the Kings of Sweden and Poland. Charles was become enamoured of war, and ambitious of conquest. He threatened to invade Saxony through the dominions of Prussia. Augustus retired to Cracow, while Charles penetrated to Warsaw, and even ordered the Cardinal-primate to summon a diet for chusing a new king. The situation of affairs, at this juncture, was far from being favorable to the allies. The court of Vienna had tampered in vain with the Elector of Bavaria, who made use of this negociation to raise his terms with Louis. His brother, the Elector of Cologne, admitted French garrisons into Liege, and all his places on the Rhine. The Elector of Saxony was too hard pressed by the King of Sweden, to spare his full proportion of troops to the allies: the King of Prussia was over-awed by the vicinity of the Swedish conqueror: the Duke of Savoy had joined his forces to those of France, and over-run the whole state of Milan; and the Pope, though he professed a neutrality, evinced himself strongly biassed to the French interests.

§ XI. The war was begun in the name of the Elector Palatine with the siege of Kaiferswaert, which was invested in the month of April by the Prince of Nassau-Saarburgh, mareschal-de-camp to the Emperor: under this officer the Dutch troops served as auxiliaries, because war had not yet been declared by

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 I. desperate defence. They worsted the besiegers in
 1732. divers sallies, and maintained the place until it was
 reduced to a heap of ashes. At length the allies made
 a general attack upon the counterscarp and ravelin,
 which they carried after a very obstinate engagement,
 with the loss of two thousand men. Then the garrison
 capitulated on honorable terms, and the fortifications
 were rased. During this siege, which lasted from
 the eighteenth day of April to the middle of June,
 Count Tallard posted himself on the opposite side of
 the Rhine, from whence he supplied the town with
 fresh troops and ammunition, and annoyed the be-
 siegers with his artillery: but finding it impossible to
 save the place, he joined the grand army, com-
 manded by the Duke of Burgundy in the Nether-
 lands. The siege of Kaiserswaert was covered by a
 body of Dutch troops under the Earl of Athlone,
 who lay encamped in the duchy of Cleve. Mean-
 while General Coehorn, at the head of another de-
 tachment, entered Flanders, demolished the French
 lines between the forts of Donat and Isabella, and
 laid the chatellanie of Bruges under contribution:
 but a considerable body of French troops advancing
 under the Marquis de Bedmar, and the Count de
 la Motte, he overflowed the country, and retired
 under the walls of Sluys. The Duke of Burgundy,
 who had taken the command of the French army
 under Boufflers, encamped at Zanten, near Cleve,
 and laid a scheme for surprising Nimeguen; in which,
 however, he was baffled by the vigilance and activity
 of Athlone, who, guessing his design, marched

thither and encamped under the cannon of the town. In the beginning of June, Landau was invested by Prince Louis of Baden : in July, the King of the Romans arrived in the camp of the besiegers, with such pomp and magnificence as exhausted his father's treasury. On the ninth day of September, the citadel was taken by assault; and then the town surrendered.

§ XII. When the Earl of Marlborough arrived in Holland, the Earl of Athlone, in quality of feldt-mareschal, insisted upon an equal command with the English general: but the States obliged him to yield this point in favor of Marlborough, whom they declared generalissimo of all their forces. In the beginning of July he repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, where he soon assembled an army of sixty thousand men, well provided with all necessaries; then he convoked a council of the general officers, to concert the operations of the campaign. On the sixteenth day of the month he passed the Maese, and encamped at Over-asselt, within two leagues and a half of the enemy, who had intrenched themselves between Goch and Genap. He afterwards repassed the river below the Grave, and removed to Gravenbroeck, where he was joined by the British train of artillery from Holland. On the second day of August, he advanced to Petit Brugel, and the French retired before him, leaving Spanish Gueldreland to his discretion. He had resolved to hazard an engagement, and issued orders accordingly: but he was restrained by the Dutch deputies, who were afraid of their own interest, in case the battle should have proved unfortunate. The Duke of Burgundy finding himself

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obliged to retreat before the allied army, rather than expose himself longer to such a mortifying indignity, returned to Versailles, leaving the command to Boufflers, who lost the confidence of Louis by the ill-success of this campaign. The deputies of the States-General having represented to the Earl of Marlborough the advantages that would accrue to Holland, from his dispossessing the enemy of the places they maintained in the Spanish Gueldreland, by which the navigation of the Maese was obstructed, and the important town of Maestricht in a manner blocked up, he resolved to deliver them from such a troublesome neighbourhood. He detached General Schultz with a body of troops to reduce the town and castle of Werk, which were surrendered after a slight resistance. In the beginning of September, he undertook the siege of Venlo, which capitulated on the twenty-fifth day of the month, after fort St. Michael had been stormed and taken by Lord Cutts and the English volunteers, among whom the young Earl of Huntingdon distinguished himself by very extraordinary acts of valor. Then the General invested Ruremonde, which he reduced after a very obstinate defence, together with the fort of Stevensuaert, situated on the same river. Boufflers, confounded at the rapidity of Marlborough's success, retired towards Liege, in order to cover that city: but at the approach of the confederates, he retired with precipitation to Tongeren, from whence he directed his route towards Brabant, with a view to defend such places as the allies had no design to attack. When the Earl of Marlborough arrived at Liege, he found the suburbs of

St. Walburgh had been set on fire by the French gar-
rison, who had retired into the citadel and the Char-
treux. The allies took immediate possession of the
city; and in a few days opened the trenches against
the citadel, which was taken by assault. On this oc-
casion, the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel charged
at the head of the grenadiers, and was the first person
who mounted the breach. Violani the governor, and
the Duke of Charost, were made prisoners. Three
hundred thousand florins in gold and silver were found
in the citadel, besides notes for above one million,
drawn upon substantial merchants in Liege, who paid
the money. Immediately after this exploit, the gar-
rison of the Chartreux capitulated on honorable
terms, and were conducted to Antwerp. By the suc-
cess of this campaign, the Earl of Marlborough raised
his military character above all censure, and con-
firmed himself in the entire confidence of the States-
General, who, in the beginning of the season, had
trembled for Nimeguen, and now saw the enemy
driven back into their own domains.

§ XIII. When the army broke up in November,
the General repaired to Maestricht, from whence he
proposed to return to the Hague by water. Accord-
ingly, he embarked in a large boat, with five-and-
twenty soldiers, under the command of a lieutenant.
Next morning he was joined at Ruremonde by Coe-
horn, in a larger vessel, with sixty men; and they
were moreover escorted by fifty troopers who rode
along the bank of the river. The large boat outfailed
the other, and the horsemen mistook their way in the
dark. A French partisan, with five-and-thirty men

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from Gueldres, who lurked among the rushes in wait for prey, seized the rope by which the boat was drawn, hauled it ashore, discharged their small arms and hand-grenades, then rushing into it, secured the soldiers before they could put themselves in a posture of defence. The Earl of Marlborough was accompanied by General Opdam, and Mynheer Gueldremalsen, one of the deputies, who were provided with passports. The Earl had neglected this precaution: but recollecting he had an old passport for his brother General Churchill, he produced it without any emotion; and the partisan was in such confusion that he never examined the date. Nevertheless, he rifled their baggage, carried off the guard as prisoners, and allowed the boat to proceed. The Governor of Venlo receiving information that the Earl was surprised by a party, and conveyed to Gueldres, immediately marched out with his whole garrison to invest that place. The same imperfect account being transmitted to Holland, filled the whole province with consternation. The States forthwith assembling, resolved that all their forces should march immediately to Gueldres, and threaten the garrison of the place with the utmost extremities, unless they would immediately deliver the General. But, before these orders could be dispatched, the Earl arrived at the Hague, to the inexpressible joy of the people, who already looked upon him as their saviour and protector.

§ XIV. The French arms were not quite so unfortunate on the Rhine as in Flanders. The Elector of Bavaria surprised the city of Ulm in Suabia, by a stratagem, and then declared for France, which had by this

time complied with all his demands. The diet of the empire assembled at Ratisbon were so incensed at his conduct in seizing the city of Ulm by perfidy, that they presented a memorial to his Imperial Majesty, requesting he would proceed against the Elector, according to the constitutions of the empire. They resolved by a plurality of voices to declare war, in the name of the empire, against the French King and the Duke of Anjou, for having invaded several fiefs of the empire in Italy, the archbishopric of Cologne, and the diocese of Liege: and they forbid the ministers of Bavaria and Cologne to appear in the general diet. In vain did these powers protest against their proceedings. The empire's declaration of war was published and notified, in the name of the diet, to the Cardinal of Limberg, the Emperor's commissioner. Mean while the French made themselves masters of Neuburgh, in the circle of Suabia, while Louis Prince of Baden, being weakened by sending off detachments, was obliged to lie inactive in his camp near Fridlingen. The French army was divided into two bodies, commanded by the Marquis de Villars and the Count de Guiscard; and the Prince thinking himself in danger of being enclosed by the enemy, resolved to decamp. Villars immediately passed the Rhine, to fall upon him in his retreat; and an obstinate engagement ensuing, the Imperialists were overpowered by numbers. The Prince, having lost two thousand men, abandoned the field of battle to the enemy, together with his baggage, artillery, and ammunition, and retired towards Stauffen, without being pursued. The French army, even after they had gained the battle, were unaccountably seized with such a panic,

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that if the Imperial general had faced them with two regiments, he would have snatched the victory from Villars, who was upon this occasion saluted marshal of France by the soldiers; and next day the town of Fridlingen surrendered. The Prince being joined by some troops under General Thungen, and other re-enforcements, resolved to give battle to the enemy: but Villars declined an engagement, and repassed the Rhine. Towards the latter end of October, Count Tallard, and the Marquis de Lomarie, with a body of eighteen thousand men, reduced Triers and Traerbach: on the other hand, the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, with a detachment from the allied army at Liege, retook from the French the towns of Zinch, Lintz, Brisac, and Andernach.

§ XV. In Italy, Prince Eugene labored under a total neglect of the Imperial court, where his enemies, on pretence of supporting the King of the Romans in his first campaign, weaned the Emperor's attention entirely from his affairs on the other side of the Alps; so that he left his best army to moulder away for want of recruits and re-enforcements. The Prince, thus abandoned, could not prevent the Duke de Vendome from relieving Mantua, and was obliged to relinquish some other places he had taken. Philip King of Spain, being inspired with the ambition of putting an end to the war in this country, sailed in person for Naples, where he was visited by the Cardinal-legate, with a compliment from the Pope; yet he could not obtain the investiture of the kingdom from his holiness. The Emperor, however, was so disgusted at the embassy which the Pope had sent to

to Philip, that he ordered his ambassador at Rome to withdraw. Philip proceeded from Naples to Final, under convoy of the French fleet which had brought him to Italy: Here he had an interview with the Duke of Savoy, who began to be alarmed at the prospect of the French King's being master of the Milanese, and, in a letter to the Duke of Vendome, he forbade him to engage Prince Eugene until he himself should arrive in the camp. Prince Eugene, understanding that the French army intended to attack Luzzara and Guastalla, passed the Po, with an army of about half the number of the enemy, and posted himself behind the dike of Zero, in such a manner that the French were ignorant of his situation. He concluded, that on their arrival at the ground they had chosen, the horse would march out to forage, while the rest of the army would be employed in pitching tents, and providing for their refreshment. His design was to seize that opportunity of attacking them, not doubting that he should obtain a complete victory: but he was disappointed by mere accident. An adjutant, with an advanced guard, had the curiosity to ascend the dike, in order to view the country, when he discovered the Imperial infantry lying on their faces, and their horse in the rear, ranged in order of battle. The French camp was immediately alarmed; and as the intermediate ground was covered with hedges, which obliged the assailants to defile, the enemy were in a posture of defence before the Imperialists could advance to action: nevertheless, the Prince attacked them with great vivacity, in hopes of disordering their line,

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which gave way in several places: but night interposing, he was obliged to desist; and in a few days the French reduced Luzzara and Guastalla. The Prince, however, maintained his posts, and Philip returned to Spain, without having obtained any considerable advantage.

§ XVI. The French King employed all his artifice and intrigues in raising up new enemies against the confederates. He is said to have bribed Count Mansfield, president of the council of war at Vienna, to withhold the supplies from Prince Eugene in Italy. At the Ottoman Porte he had actually gained over the Vizier, who engaged to renew the war with the Emperor. But the Mufti and all the other great officers were averse to this design, and the Vizier fell a sacrifice to their resentment. Louis continued to embroil the kingdom of Poland by means of the Cardinal Primate. The young King of Sweden advanced to Lissau, where he defeated Augustus. Then he took possession of Cracow, and raised contributions; nor could he be persuaded to retreat, although the Muscovites and Lithuanians had ravaged Livonia, and even made an irruption into Sweden.

§ XVII. The operations of the combined squadrons at sea did not fully answer the expectations of the public. On the twelfth day of May, Sir John Munden sailed with twelve ships, to intercept a French squadron appointed as a convoy to a new viceroy of Mexico, from Corunna to the West-Indies. On the twenty-eighth day of the month, he chased fourteen sail of French ships into Corunna. Then he called a council of war, in which it was agreed, that as the place was strongly fortified, and by the

intelligence they had received, it appeared that seventeen of the enemy's ships of war rode at anchor in the harbour, it would be expedient for them to follow the latter part of their instructions, by which they were directed to cruise in soundings for the protection of the trade. They returned accordingly, and being distressed by want of provisions, came into port, to the general discontent of the nation. For the satisfaction of the people, Sir John Munden was tried by a court-martial, and acquitted: but as this miscarriage had rendered him very unpopular, Prince George dismissed him from the service. We have already hinted, that King William had projected a scheme to reduce Cadix; with intention to act afterwards against the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies. This design Queen Anne resolved to put in execution. Sir George Rook commanded the fleet, and the Duke of Ormond was appointed general of the land-forces destined for this expedition. The combined squadrons amounted to fifty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates, fire-ships, and smaller vessels; and the number of soldiers embarked was not far short of fourteen thousand. In the latter end of June the fleet sailed from St. Helen's: on the twelfth of August they anchored at the distance of two leagues from Cadix. Next day the Duke of Ormond summoned the Duke de Brancaccio, who was governor, to submit to the House of Austria; but that officer answered, he would acquit himself honorably of the trust reposed in him by the King. On the fifteenth the Duke of Ormond landed with his forces in the bay of Bulls, under cover of a smart fire from some frigates, and repulsed

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a body of Spanish cavalry: then he summoned the governor of Fort St. Catherine's to surrender; and received an answer, importing, that the garrison was prepared for his reception. A declaration was published in the Spanish language, intimating, that the allies did not come as enemies to Spain; but only to free them from the yoke of France, and assist them in establishing themselves under the government of the House of Austria. These professions produced very little effect among the Spaniards, who were either cooled in their attachment to that family, or provoked by the excesses of the English troops. These having taken possession of Fort St. Catherine, and Port St. Mary's, instead of protecting, plundered the natives, notwithstanding the strict orders issued by the Duke of Ormond, to prevent this scandalous practice: even some general officers were concerned in the pillage. A battery was raised against Montagorda-fort opposite to the Puntal: but the attempt miscarried, and the troops were re-embarked.

§ XVIII. Captain Hardy having been sent to water in Lagos-bay, received intelligence that the galleons from the West-Indies had put into Vigo, under convoy of a French squadron. He sailed immediately in quest of Sir George Rook, who was now on his voyage back to England, and falling in with him on the sixth day of October, communicated the substance of what he had learned. Rook immediately called a council of war, in which it was determined to alter their course, and attack the enemy at Vigo. He forthwith detached some small vessels for intelligence, and received a confirmation, that the galleons,

and the squadron commanded by Chateau-Renault, were actually in the harbour. They sailed thither, and appeared before the place on the eleventh day of October. The passage into the harbour was narrow, secured by batteries, forts, and breast-works on each side; by a strong boom, consisting of iron chains, top-masts, and cables, moored at each end to a seventy-gun ship; and fortified within by five ships of the same strength, lying athwart the channel, with their broad-sides to the offing. As the first and second rates of the combined fleets were too large to enter, the admirals shifted their flags into smaller ships; and a division of five-and-twenty English and Dutch ships of the line, with their frigates, fire-ships, and ketches, was destined for the service. In order to facilitate the attack, the Duke of Ormond landed with five-and-twenty hundred men, at the distance of six miles from Vigo, and took by assault a fort and platform of forty pieces of cannon, at the entrance of the harbour. The British ensign was no sooner seen flying at the top of this fort, than the ships advanced to the attack. Vice-Admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, crowding all his sail, ran directly against the boom, which was broken by the first shock: then the whole squadron entered the harbour, through a prodigious fire from the enemy's ships and batteries. These last, however, were soon stormed and taken by the grenadiers who had been landed. The great ships lay against the forts at each side of the harbour, which in a little time they silenced; though Vice-Admiral Hopson narrowly escaped from a fire-ship by which he was boarded. After a very

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vigorous engagement, the French, finding themselves unable to cope with such an adversary, resolved to destroy their ships and galleons, that they might not fall into the hands of the victors. They accordingly burned and ran ashore eight ships and as many advice-boats; but ten ships of war were taken, together with eleven galleons. Though they had secured the best part of their plate and merchandise before the English fleet arrived, the value of fourteen millions of pieces of eight, in plate and rich commodities, was destroyed in six galleons that perished; and about half that value was brought off by the conquerors: so that this was a dreadful blow to the enemy, and a noble acquisition to the allies. Immediately after this exploit Sir George Rook was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had been sent out with a squadron to intercept the galleons. This officer was left to bring home the prizes, and dismantle the fortifications, while Rook returned in triumph to England.

§ XIX. The glory which the English acquired in this expedition was in some measure tarnished by the conduct of some officers in the West-Indies. Thither Admiral Benbow had been detached with a squadron of ten sail, in the course of the preceding year. At Jamaica he received intelligence, that Monsieur Du Casse was in the neighbourhood of Hispaniola, and resolved to beat up to that island. At Leogane he fell in with a French ship of fifty guns, which her captain ran ashore and blew up. He took several other vessels, and having alarmed Petit-Guavas, bore away for Donna-Maria-bay, where he understood

that Du Casse had failed for the coast of Carthagenæ. Benbow resolved to follow the same course; and on the nineteenth of August discovered the enemy's squadron near St. Martha, consisting of ten sail, steering along shore. He formed the line, and an engagement ensued, in which he was very ill-seconded by some of his captains. Nevertheless, the battle continued till night, and he determined to renew it next morning, when he perceived all his ships at the distance of three or four miles astern, except the Ruby, commanded by Captain George Walton, who joined him in plying the enemy with chase-guns. On the twenty-first these two ships engaged the French squadron; and the Ruby was so disabled, that the Admiral was obliged to send her back to Jamaica. Next day the Greenwich, commanded by Wade, was five leagues astern: and the wind changing, the enemy had the advantage of the weather-gage. On the twenty-third the Admiral renewed the battle with his single ship, unsustained by the rest of the squadron. On the twenty-fourth his leg was shattered by a chain-shot; notwithstanding which accident, he remained on the quarter-deck in a cradle, and continued the engagement. One of the largest ships of the enemy lying like a wreck upon the water, four sail of the English squadron poured their broadsides into her, and then ran to leeward, without paying any regard to the signal for battle. Then the French bearing down upon the Admiral with their whole force, shot away his main-top-sail-yard, and damaged his rigging in such a manner, that he was obliged to lie by and refit, while they took their

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disabled ship in tow. During this interval, he called a council of his captains, and expostulated with them on their behaviour. They observed, that the French were very strong, and advised him to desist. He plainly perceived that he was betrayed, and with the utmost reluctance returned to Jamaica, having not only lost a leg, but also received a large wound in his face, and another in his arm, while he in person attempted to board the French admiral. Exasperated at the treachery of his captains, he granted a commission to Rear-Admiral Whetstone, and other officers, to hold a court-martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudson, of the *Pendennis*, died before his trial: Kirby and Wade were convicted, and sentenced to be shot: Constable, of the *Windfor*, was cashiered and imprisoned: Vincent, of the *Falmouth*, and Fogg, the Admiral's own captain of the *Breda*, were convicted of having signed a paper, that they would not fight under Benbow's command: but, as they behaved gallantly in the action, the court inflicted upon them no other punishment than that of a provisional suspension. Captain Walton had likewise joined in the conspiracy, while he was heated with the fumes of intoxication: but he afterwards renounced the engagement, and fought with admirable courage until his ship was disabled. The boisterous manners of Benbow had produced this base confederacy. He was a rough seaman; but remarkably brave, honest, and experienced*. He took this miscarriage so much to heart,

* When one of his lieutenants expressed his sorrow for the loss of the Admiral's leg, "I am sorry for it, too

that he became melancholy, and his grief co-operating with the fever occasioned by his wounds, put a period to his life. Wade and Kirby were sent home in the Bristol; and, on their arrival at Plymouth, shot on board of the ship, by virtue of a death-warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time. The same precaution had been taken in all the western ports, in order to prevent applications in their favor.

§ XX. During these transactions, the Queen seemed to be happy in the affection of her subjects. Though the continuance of the parliament was limited to six months after the King's decease, she dissolved it by proclamation before the term was expired: and issued writs for electing another, in which the Tory-interest predominated. In the summer the Queen gave audience to the Count de Platens, envoy extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover: then she made a progress with her husband to Oxford, Bath, and Bristol, where she was received with all the marks of the most genuine affection. The new

“ (replied the gallant Benbow) but I had rather have lost
 “ them both than have seen this dishonor brought upon the
 “ English nation. But, do you hear? If another shot should
 “ take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out.” —
 When Du Casse arrived at Carthagen, he wrote a letter to Benbow to this effect:

“ S I R,

“ I Had little hope an Monday last but to have supped in
 “ your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am
 “ thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted
 “ you, hang them up; for, by God, they deserve it. Your's,
 DU CASSE.”

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parliament meeting on the twentieth day of October, Mr. Harley was chosen speaker. The Queen in her speech declared, she had summoned them to assist her in carrying on the just and necessary war in which the nation was engaged. She desired the Commons would inspect the accounts of the public receipts and payments, that if any abuses had crept into the management of the finances, they might be detected, and the offenders punished. She told them, that the funds assigned in the last parliament had not produced the sums granted; and that the deficiency was not supplied even by the hundred thousand pounds which she had paid from her own revenue for the public service. She expressed her concern for the disappointment at Cadiz, as well as for the abuses committed at port St. Mary's, which had obliged her to give directions for the strictest examination of the particulars. She hoped they would find time to consider of some better and more effectual method to prevent the exportation of wool, and improve that manufacture, which she was determined to encourage. She professed a firm persuasion, that the affection of her subjects was the surest pledge of their duty and obedience. She promised to defend and maintain the church as by law established; and to protect her subjects in the full enjoyment of all their rights and liberties. She protested, that she relied on their care of her: she said her interest and theirs were inseparable; and that her endeavours should never be wanting to make them all safe and happy. — She was presented with a very affectionate address from either House, congratulating her upon the glorious success

of her arms, and those of her allies, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough: but that of the Commons was distinguished by an implicated reproach on the late reign, importing, that the wonderful progress of her Majesty's arms under the Earl of Marlborough had signally "retrieved" the ancient honor and glory of the English nation. This expression had excited a warm debate in the House, in the course of which many severe reflections were made on the memory of King William. At length, the question was put, Whether the word "Retrieved" should remain? and carried in the affirmative, by a majority of one hundred.

§ XXI. The strength of the Tories appeared in nothing more conspicuous than in their inquiry concerning controverted elections. The borough of Hindon, near Salisbury, was convicted of bribery, and a bill brought in for disfranchising the town: yet, no vote passed against the person who exercised this corruption, because he happened to be a Tory. Mr. Howe was declared duly elected for Gloucestershire, though the majority of the electors had voted for the other candidate. Sir John Packington exhibited a complaint against the Bishop of Worcester and his son, for having endeavoured to prevent his election: the Commons having taken it into consideration, resolved, that the proceedings of William Lord Bishop of Worcester, and his son, had been malicious, unchristian, and arbitrary, in high violation of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of England. They voted an address to the Queen, desiring her to remove the father from the

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office of lord - almoner ; and they ordered the Attorney - General to prosecute the son , after his privilege as member of the convocation should be expired. A counter - address was immediately voted , and presented by the Lords , beseeching her Majesty would not remove the Bishop of Worcester from the place of lord - almoner , until he should be found guilty of some crime by due course of law ; as it was the undoubted right of every lord of parliament , and of every subject of England , to have an opportunity to make his defence before he suffers any sort of punishment. The Queen said she had not as yet received any complaint against the Bishop of Worcester : but she looked upon it as her undoubted right to continue or displace any servant attending upon her own person , when she should think proper. The Peers having received this answer , unanimously resolved , That no lord of their House ought to suffer any sort of punishment by any proceedings of the House of Commons , otherwise than according to the known and ancient rules and methods of parliament. When the Commons attended the Queen with their address against the Bishop , she said she was sorry there was occasion for such a remonstrance , and that the Bishop of Worcester should no longer continue to supply the place of her almoner. This regard to their address was a flagrant proof of her partiality to the Tories , who seemed to justify her attachment by their compliance and liberality.

§ XXII. In deliberating on the supplies , they agreed to all the demands of the ministry. They voted forty thousand seamen , and the like number

of land - forces , to act in conjunction with those of the allies. For the maintenance of these last, they granted eight hundred and thirty - three thousand eight hundred and twenty - six pounds ; besides three hundred and fifty thousand pounds for guards and garrisons ; seventy thousand nine hundred and seventy - three pounds for ordnance ; and fifty - one thousand eight hundred and forty - three pounds for subsidies to the allies. Lord Shannon arriving with the news of the success at Vigo, the Queen appointed a day of thanksgiving for the signal success of her arms under the Earl of Marlborough , the Duke of Ormond , and Sir George Rook ; and, on that day , which was the twelfth of November, she went in state to St. Paul's church, attended by both Houses of Parliament. Next day the Peers voted the thanks of their House to the Duke of Ormond for his services at Vigo ; and , at the same time , drew up an address to the Queen, desiring she would order the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rook to lay before them an account of their proceedings : a request with which her Majesty complied. Those two officers were likewise thanked by the House of Commons : Vice - Admiral Hopson was knighted, and gratified with a considerable pension. The Duke of Ormond, at his return from the expedition, complained openly of Rook's conduct, and seemed determined to subject him to a public accusation : but that officer was such a favorite among the Commons, that the court was afraid to disoblige them by an impeachment , and took great pains to mitigate the Duke's resentment. This nobleman was appointed

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lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and Rook was admitted into the privy-council. A motion, however, being made in the House of Lords, that the Admiral's instructions and journals relating to the last expedition might be examined, a committee was appointed for that purpose, and prepared an unfavorable report: but it was rejected by a majority of the House; and they voted, That Sir George Rook had done his duty, pursuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honor of the British nation.

§ XXIII. On the twenty - first day of November, the Queen sent a message to the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Hedges, recommending further provision for the Prince her husband, in case he should survive her. This message being considered, Mr. Howe moved, That the yearly sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be settled on the Prince, in case he should survive her Majesty. No opposition was made to the proposal: but warm debates were excited by a clause in the bill, exempting the Prince from that part of the act of succession by which strangers, though naturalized, were rendered incapable of holding employments. This clause related only to those who should be naturalized in a future reign; and indeed was calculated as a restriction upon the House of Hanover. Many members argued against the clause of exemption, because it seemed to imply, that persons already naturalized would be excluded from employments in the next reign, though already possessed of the right of natural-born subjects, a consequence plainly contradictory to the meaning of the act. Others opposed it, because

the Lords had already resolved by a vote, That they would never pass any bill sent up from the Commons, to which a clause foreign to the bill should be tacked; and this clause they affirmed to be a tack, as an incapacity to hold employments was a circumstance altogether distinct from a settlement in money. The Queen expressed uncommon eagerness in behalf of this bill; and the court-influence was managed so successfully, that it passed through both Houses, though not without an obstinate opposition, and a formal protest by seven - and - twenty peers.

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§ XXIV. The Earl of Marlborough arriving in England about the latter end of November, received the thanks of the Commons for his great and signal services, which were so acceptable to the Queen, that she created him a Duke, gratified him with a pension of five thousand pounds upon the revenue of the Post-Office during his natural life; and, in a message to the Commons, expressed a desire, that they would find some method to settle it on the heirs male of his body. This intimation was productive of warm debates, during which Sir Christopher Musgrave observed, that he would not derogate from the Duke's eminent services: but he affirmed his grace had been very well paid for them, by the profitable employments which he and his duchess enjoyed. The Duke, understanding that the Commons were heated by the subject, begged her Majesty would rather forego her gracious message in his behalf, than create any uneasiness on his account, which might embarrass her affairs, and be of ill consequence to the public. Then she sent another message

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to the House, signifying, that the Duke of Marlborough had declined her interposition. Notwithstanding this declaration, the Commons in a body presented an address, acknowledging the eminent services of the Duke of Marlborough, yet expressing their apprehension of making a precedent to alienate the revenue of the crown, which had been so much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the late reign, and so lately settled and secured by her Majesty's unparalleled grace and goodness. The Queen was satisfied with their apology; but their refusal in all probability helped to alienate the Duke from the Tories, with whom he had been hitherto connected.

§ XXV. In the beginning of January, the Queen gave the House of Commons to understand, that the States-General had pressed her to augment her forces, as the only means to render ineffectual the great and early preparations of the enemy. The Commons immediately resolved, That ten thousand men should be hired, as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the allies; but on condition that an immediate stop should be put to all commerce and correspondence with France and Spain on the part of the States-General. The Lords presented an address to the Queen on the same subject, and to the same effect; and she owned that the condition was absolutely necessary for the good of the whole alliance. The Dutch, even after the declaration of war, had carried on a traffic with the French; and, at this very juncture, Louis found it impossible to make remittances of money to the
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Electors of Bavaria in Germany, and to his forces in Italy, except through the canal of English, Dutch, and Geneva merchants. The States-General, though shocked at the imperious manner in which the parliament of England prescribed their conduct, complied with the demand without hesitation, and published a prohibition of all commerce with the subjects of France and Spain.

§ XXVI. The Commons of this parliament had nothing more at heart than a bill against occasional conformity. The Tories affected to distinguish themselves as the only true friends to the church and monarchy; and they hated the dissenters with a mixture of spiritual and political disgust. They looked upon these last as an intruding sect, which constituted great part of the Whig-faction that extorted such immense sums of money from the nation in the late reign, and involved it in pernicious engagements, from whence it had no prospect of deliverance. They considered them as encroaching schismatics that disgraced and endangered the hierarchy; and those of their own communion who recommended moderation they branded with the epithets of lukewarm christians, betrayers, and apostates. They now resolved to approve themselves zealous sons of the church, by seizing the first opportunity that was in their power to distress the dissenters. In order to pave the way to this persecution, sermons were preached, and pamphlets were printed, to blacken the character of the sect, and inflame the popular resentment against them. On the fourth day of

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November, Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Annesley, were ordered by the House of Commons to bring in a bill for preventing occasional conformity. In the preamble all persecution for conscience sake was condemned: nevertheless, it enacted, That all those who had taken the sacrament and test for offices of trust, or the magistracy of corporations, and afterwards frequented any meeting of dissenters, should be disabled from holding their employments, pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and five pounds for every day in which they continued to act in their employments after having been at any such meeting: they were also rendered incapable of holding any other employment, till after one whole year's conformity; and, upon a relapse, the penalties and time of incapacity were doubled. The promoters of the bill alleged, that an established religion and national church were absolutely necessary, when so many impious men pretended to inspiration, and deluded such numbers of the people: that the most effectual way to preserve this national church, would be the maintenance of the civil power in the hands of those who expressed their regard to the church in their principles and practice: that the parliament, by the corporation and test-acts, thought they had raised a sufficient barrier to the hierarchy, never imagining that a set of men would rise up, whose consciences would be too tender to obey the laws but hardened enough to break them: that as the last reign began with an act in favor of dissenters, so the Commons were desirous that in the beginning of her Majesty's auspicious government, an act should pass in favor

of the church of England : that this bill did not intrench on the act of toleration , or deprive the dissenters of any privileges they enjoyed by law , or add any thing to the legal rights of the church of England : that occasional conformity was an evasion of the law , by which the dissenters might insinuate themselves into the management of all corporations : that a separation from the church , to which a man's conscience will allow him occasionally to conform , is a mere schism , which in itself was sinful , without the superaddition of a temporal law to make it an offence : that the toleration was intended only for the ease of tender consciences , and not to give a licence for occasional conformity : that conforming and nonconforming were contradictions ; for nothing but a firm persuasion that the terms of communion required are sinful and unlawful could justify the one ; and this plainly condemns the other. The members who opposed the bill argued , That the dissenters were generally well affected to the present constitution : that to bring any real hardship upon them , or give rise to jealousies and fears at such a juncture , might be attended with dangerous consequences : that the toleration had greatly contributed to the security and reputation of the church , and plainly proved , that liberty of conscience and gentle measures were the most effectual means for increasing the votaries of the church , and diminishing the number of dissenters : that the dissenters could not be termed schismatics , without bringing a heavy charge upon the church of England , which had not only tolerated such schism , but even allowed communion with the

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reformed churches abroad: that the penalties of this bill were more severe than those which the laws imposed on papists, for assisting at the most solemn act of their religion: in a word, that toleration and tenderness had been always productive of peace and union, whereas persecution had never failed to excite disorder, and extend superstition. Many alterations and mitigations were proposed, without effect. In the course of the debates the dissenters were mentioned and reviled with great acrimony; and the bill passed the Lower-House by virtue of a considerable majority.

§ XXVII. The Lords, apprehensive that the Commons would tack it to some money-bill, voted, That the annexing any clause to a money-bill was contrary to the constitution of the English government, and the usage of parliament. The bill met with a very warm opposition in the Upper-House, where a considerable portion of the Whig-interest still remained. These members believed that the intention of the bill was to model corporations, so as to eject all those who would not vote in elections for the Tories. Some imagined this was a preparatory step towards a repeal of the toleration; and others concluded that the promoters of the bill designed to raise such disturbances at home, as would discourage the allies abroad, and render the prosecution of the war impracticable. The majority of the bishops, and among these Burnet of Sarum, objected against it on the principles of moderation, and from motives of conscience. Nevertheless, as the court supported this measure with its whole power and

influence, the bill made its way through the House, though not without alterations and amendments, which were rejected by the Commons. The Lower-House pretended that the Lords had no right to alter any fines and penalties that the Commons should fix in bills sent up for their concurrence, on the supposition, that those were matters concerning money, the peculiar province of the Lower-House: the Lords ordered a minute inquiry to be made into all the rolls of parliament since the reign of Henry the Seventh; and a great number of instances were found, in which the Lords had begun the clauses imposing fines and penalties, altered the penalties which had been fixed by the Commons, and even changed the uses to which they were applied. These precedents were entered in the books; but the Commons resolved to maintain their point without engaging in any dispute upon the subject. After warm debates, and a free conference between the two Houses, the Lords adhered to their amendments, though this resolution was carried by a majority of one vote only: the Commons persisted in rejecting them, the bill miscarried; and both Houses published their proceedings, by way of appeal to the nation^s. A bill was now brought

^s While this bill was depending, Daniel de Foe published a pamphlet, entitled, "The shortest way with the dissenters; or, proposals for the establishment of the church." The piece was a severe satire on the violence of the church-party. The Commons ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, and the author to be prosecuted. He was accordingly committed to Newgate, tried, condemned to pay a fine of two hundred pounds, and stand in the pillory.

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into the Lower-House, granting another year's consideration to those who had not taken the oath abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales. The Lords added three clauses, importing, That those persons who should take the oath within the limited time might return to their benefices and employments, unless they should be already legally filled; that any person endeavouring to defeat the succession to the crown, as now limited by law, should be deemed guilty of high-treason: and that the oath of abjuration should be imposed upon the subjects in Ireland. The Commons made some opposition to the first clause: but, at length, the question being put, Whether they should agree to the amendments? it was carried in the affirmative by one voice.

§ XXVIII. No object engrossed more time, or produced more violent debates than did the inquiry into the public accounts. The commissioners appointed for this purpose pretended to have made great discoveries. They charged the Earl of Ranelagh, paymaster-general of the army, with flagrant mismanagement. He acquitted himself in such a manner as screened him from all severity of punishment: nevertheless, they expelled him from the House for a high crime and misdemeanour, in misapplying several sums of the public money; and he thought proper to resign his employment. A long address was prepared and presented to the Queen, attributing the national debt to mismanagement of the funds; complaining that the old methods of the Exchequer had been neglected; and that iniquitous frauds had been committed by the commissioners

of the prizes. Previous to this remonstrance, the House, in consequence of the report of the committee, had passed several severe resolutions, particularly against Charles Lord Hallifax, auditor of the receipt of the Exchequer, as having neglected his duty, and been guilty of a breach of trust. For these reasons, they actually besought the Queen, in an address, that she would give directions to the Attorney-general, to prosecute him for the said offences; and she promised to comply with their request. On the other hand, the Lords appointed a committee to examine all the observations which the commissioners of accounts had offered to both Houses. They ascribed the national debt to deficiencies in the funds: they acquitted Lord Hallifax, the lords of the Treasury, and their officers, whom the Commons had accused; and represented these circumstances in an address to the Queen, which was afterwards printed with the vouchers to every particular. This difference blew up a fierce flame of discord between the two Houses, which manifested their mutual animosity in speeches, votes, resolutions, and conferences. The Commons affirmed, That no cognizance the Lords could take of the public accounts would enable them to supply any deficiency, or appropriate any surplusage of the public money: that they could neither acquit nor condemn any person whatsoever, upon any inquiry arising originally in their own House; and that their attempt to acquit Charles Lord Hallifax was unparliamentary. The Lords insisted upon their right to take cognizance originally of all public accounts; they affirmed, that in their resolutions

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with respect to Lord Hallifax they had proceeded according to the rules of justice. They owned, however, that their resolutions did not amount to any judgment or acquittal; but that finding a vote of the Commons reflected upon a member of their House, they thought fit to give their opinion in their legislative authority. The Queen interposed by a message to the Lords, desiring they would dispatch the business in which they were engaged. The dispute continued even after this intimation: one conference was held after another, till at length both sides despaired of an accommodation. The Lords ordered their proceedings to be printed, and the Commons followed their example. On the twenty-seventh day of February the Queen having passed all the bills that were ready for the royal assent, ordered the Lord-Keeper to prorogue the parliament, after having pronounced a speech, in the usual style. She thanked them for their zeal, affection, and dispatch; declared, she would encourage and maintain the church as by law established; desired they would consider some further laws for restraining the great licence assumed for publishing scandalous pamphlets and libels; and assured them, that all her share of the prizes which might be taken in the war should be applied to the public service. By this time the Earl of Rochester was entirely removed from the Queen's councils. Finding himself outweighed by the interest of the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, he had become sullen and intractable; and rather than repair to his government of Ireland, chose to resign

the office, which, as we have already observed, was conferred upon the Duke of Ormond, an accomplished nobleman, who had acquired great popularity by the success of the expedition to Vigo. The parties in the House of Lords were so nearly matched, that the Queen, in order to ascertain an undoubted majority in the next session, created four new peers⁶, who had signalized themselves by the violence of their speeches in the House of Commons.

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§ XXIX. The two Houses of convocation, which were summoned with the parliament, bore a strong affinity with this assembly by the different interests that prevailed in the upper and lower. The last, in imitation of the Commons, was desirous of branding the preceding reign; and it was with great difficulty that they concurred with the prelates in an address of congratulation to her Majesty. Then their former contest was revived. The Lower House desired, in an application to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, that the matters in dispute concerning the manner of synodical proceedings, and the right of the Lower-House to hold intermediate assemblies, might be taken into consideration, and

⁶ These were John Granville created Baron Granville of Potheridge, in the county of Devon: Heneage Finch, Baron of Guernsey in the county of Southampton: Sir John Leveson Gower, Baron Gower, of Sittenham, in Yorkshire; and Francis Seymour Conway, youngest son of Sir Edward Seymour, made Baron Conway, of Ragley, in the county of Warwick. At the same time, however, John Hervey, of the opposite faction, was created Baron of Ickworth, in the county of Suffolk; and the Marquis of Normanby was honored with the title of Duke of Buckinghamshire.

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speedily determined. The bishops proposed, that in the intervals of sessions, the Lower-House might appoint committees to prepare matters, and when business should be brought regularly before them, the archbishop would regulate the prorogations in such a manner, that they should have sufficient time to sit and deliberate on the subject. This offer did not satisfy the Lower-House, which was emboldened to persist in its demand by a vote of the Commons. These, in consequence of an address of thanks from the clergy, touching Mr. Lloyd, son to the Bishop of Worcester, whom they ordered to be prosecuted after his privilege as member of the convocation should be expired, had resolved, That, they would on all occasions assert the just rights and privileges of the Lower-House of convocation. The prelates refused to depart from the archbishop's right of proroguing the whole convocation with consent of his suffragans. The Lower-House proposed to refer the controversy to the Queen's decision. The bishops declined this expedient, as inconsistent with the episcopal authority, and the presidence of the archbishop. The Lower House having incurred the imputation of favoring presbytery, by this opposition to the bishops, entered in their books a declaration, acknowledging the order of bishops as superior to presbyters, and to be a divine apostolical institution. Then they desired the bishops, in an address, to concur in settling the doctrine of the divine apostolical right of episcopacy, that it might be a standing rule of the church. They likewise presented a petition to the Queen, complaining, That in the

convocation called in the year 1700 after an interruption of ten years, several questions having arisen concerning the rights and liberties of the Lower House, the bishops had refused a verbal conference: and afterwards declined a proposal to submit the dispute to her Majesty's determination: they, therefore, fled for protection to her Majesty, begging she would call the question into her own royal audience. The Queen promised to consider their petition, which was supported by the Earl of Nottingham; and ordered their council to examine the affair, how it consisted with law and custom. Whether their report was unfavorable to the Lower House, or the Queen was unwilling to encourage the division, no other answer was made to their address. The archbishop replied to their request presented to the Upper House, concerning the divine right of presbytery, that the preface to the form of ordination contained a declaration of three orders of ministers from the times of the apostles; namely, bishops, priests, and deacons, to which they had subscribed: but he and his brethren conceived, that, without a royal licence, they had not authority to attempt, enact, promulge, or execute any canon, which should concern either doctrine or discipline. The Lower House answered this declaration in very petulant terms; and the dispute subsisted when the parliament was prorogued. But these contests produced divisions through the whole body of the clergy, who ranged themselves in different factions, distinguished by the names of High-church and Low-church. The first consisted of ecclesiastical Tories; the other included those who

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professed Revolution-principles, and recommended moderation towards the dissenters. The High church-party reproached the other as time-servers, and presbyterians in disguise; and were in their turn stigmatized as the friends and abettors of tyranny and persecution. At present, however, the Tories both in church and state triumphed in the favor of their sovereign. The right of parliaments, the memory of the late King, and even the act limiting the succession of the house of Hanover, became the subjects of ridicule. The Queen was flattered as possessor of the prerogatives of the ancient monarchy: the history written by her grandfather the Earl of Clarendon was now for the first time published, to inculcate the principles of obedience, and inspire the people with an abhorrence of opposition to an anointed sovereign. Her Majesty's hereditary right was deduced from Edward the Confessor, and, as heir of his pretended sanctity and virtue, she was persuaded to touch persons afflicted with the King's evil, according to the office inserted in the liturgy for this occasion.

§ XXX. The change of the ministry in Scotland seemed favorable to the episcopalians and anti-revolutioners of that kingdom. The Earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Selkirk, Leven, and Hyndford were laid aside: the Earl of Seafield was appointed chancellor: the Duke of Queensberry, and the Lord Viscount Tarbat, were declared secretaries of state: the Marquis of Annandale was made president of the council, and the Earl of Tullibardin, lord privy-seal. A new parliament having been summoned, the Earl of Seafield employed his influence so successfully, that

a great number of anti-revolutioners was returned as members. The Duke of Hamilton had obtained from the Queen a letter to the privy-council in Scotland, in which she expressed her desire, that the presbyterian clergy should live in brotherly love and communion with such dissenting ministers of the reformed religion as were in possession of benefices, and lived with decency, and submission to the law. The episcopal clergy, encouraged by these expressions in their favor, drew up an address to the Queen, imploring her protection; and humbly beseeching her to allow those parishes in which there was a majority of episcopal free-holders to bestow the benefice on ministers of their principles. This petition was presented by Dr. Skeen and Dr. Scot, who were introduced by the Duke of Queensberry to her Majesty. She assured them of her protection and endeavours to supply their necessities; and exhorted them to live in peace and christian love with the clergy, who were by law invested with the church-government in her ancient kingdom of Scotland. A proclamation of indemnity having been published in March, a great number of Jacobites returned from France and other countries, pretended to have changed their sentiments, and took the oaths, that they might be qualified to sit in parliament. They formed an accession to the strength of the anti-revolutioners and episcopalians, who now hoped to outnumber the presbyterians, and outweigh their interest. But this confederacy was composed of dissonant parts, from which no harmony could be expected. The Presbyterians and Revolutioners were headed by the Duke of

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Argyle. The country-party of malecontents, which took its rise from the disappointments of the Darien settlement, acted under the auspices of the Duke of Hamilton and Marquis of Tweeddale; and the Earl of Hume appeared as chief of the anti-revolutioners⁷. The different parties who now united, pursued the most opposite ends. The majority of the country-party were friends to the Revolution, and sought only redress of the grievances which the nation had sustained in the late reign. The anti-revolutioners considered the accession and government of King William as an extraordinary event, which they were willing to forget, believing that all parties were safe under the shelter of her Majesty's general indemnity. The Jacobites submitted to the Queen, as tutrix or regent for the Prince of Wales, whom they firmly believed she intended to establish on the throne. The Whigs under Argyle, alarmed at the coalition of all their enemies, resolved to procure a parliamentary sanction for the Revolution.

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§ XXXI. The parliament being opened on the sixth day of May at Edinburgh, by the Duke of Queensberry as commissioner, the Queen's letter was read, in which she demanded a supply for the maintenance of the forces, advised them to encourage trade, and exhorted them to proceed with wisdom, prudence, and unanimity. The Duke of Hamilton immediately offered the draft of a bill for recognising her Majesty's undoubted right and title to the

⁷ Burnet Oldmixon. Torcy's Mem. Lamberty's Mem. Feuquieres. Burchet. Tindal. Lockhart's Mem. Lives of the Admirals. Hist. of the D. of Marlborough. Duchess of Marlborough's Apol.

Imperial crown of Scotland, according to the declaration of the estates of the kingdom, containing the claim of right. It was immediately received; and at the second reading, the Queen's advocate offered an additional clause, denouncing the penalties of treason against any person who should quarrel her Majesty's right and title to the crown, or her exercise of the government, from her actual entry to the same. This, after a long and warm debate, was carried by the concurrence of the anti-revolutioners. Then the Earl of Hume produced the draft of a bill for the supply: immediately after it was read, the Marquis of Tweeddale made an overture, that before all other business, the parliament would proceed to make such conditions of government, and regulations in the constitution of the kingdom, to take place after the decease of her Majesty and the heirs of her body, as should be necessary for the preservation of their religion and liberty. This overture and the bill were ordered to lie upon the table; and in the mean time, the commissioner found himself involved in great perplexity. The Duke of Argyle, the Marquis of Annandale, and the Earl of Marchmont, gave him to understand in private, that they were resolved to move for an act, ratifying the Revolution; and for another, confirming the presbyterian government: that they would insist upon their being discussed before the bill of supply, and that they were certain of carrying the points at which they aimed. The commissioner now found himself reduced to a very disagreeable alternative. There was a necessity for relinquishing all hope of a supply, or abandoning the anti-revolutioners, to whom he was connected by pro.

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mises of concurrence. The Whigs were determined to oppose all schemes of supply that should come from the cavaliers; and these last resolved to exert their whole power in preventing the confirmation of the Revolution and the presbyterian discipline. He foresaw that on this occasion the Whigs would be joined by the Duke of Hamilton and his party, so as to preponderate against the cavaliers. He endeavoured to cajole both parties; but found the task impracticable. He desired in parliament, that the act for the supply might be read, promising that they should have full time afterwards to deliberate on other subjects. The Marquis of Tweeddale insisted upon his overture; and, after warm debates, the House resolved to proceed with such acts as might be necessary for securing the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, before any bill for supply or other business should be discussed. The Marquis of Athol offered an act for the security of the kingdom, in case of her Majesty's decease: but, before it was read, the Duke of Argyle presented his draft of a bill for ratifying the Revolution, and all the acts following thereupon. An act for limiting the succession after the death of her Majesty, and the heirs of her body, was produced by Mr. Fletcher, of Saltoun. The Earl of Rothes recommended another, importing, that after her Majesty's death, and failing heirs of her body, no person coming to the crown of Scotland, being at the same time King or Queen of England, should, as King or Queen of Scotland, have power to make peace or war without the consent of parliament. The Earl of Marchmont recited the draft of an act for securing the

the true protestant religion and presbyterian government: one was also suggested by Sir Patrick Johnston, allowing the importation of wines, and other foreign liquors. All these bills were ordered to lie upon the table. Then the Earl of Strathmore produced an act for toleration to all protestants in the exercise of religious worship. But against this the general assembly presented a most violent remonstrance; and the promoters of the bill foreseeing that it would meet with great opposition, allowed it to drop for the present. On the third day of June, the parliament passed the act for preserving the true reformed protestant religion, and confirming presbyterian church-government, as agreeable to the word of God, and the only government of Christ's church within the kingdom. The same party enjoyed a further triumph in the success of Argyle's act, for ratifying and perpetuating the first act of King William's parliament; for declaring it high treason to disown the authority of that parliament; or to alter or renovate the claim of right, or any article thereof. This last clause was strenuously opposed; but at last the bill passed, with the concurrence of all the ministry, except the Marquis of Athol and the Viscount Tarbat, who began at this period to correspond with the opposite party.

§ XXXII. The cavaliers thinking themselves betrayed by the Duke of Queensberry, who had assented to these acts, first expostulated with him on his breach of promise, and then renounced his interest, resolving to separate themselves from the court, and jointly pursue such measures as might be for the interest of their party. But of all the bills that were produced

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in the course of this remarkable session, that which produced the most violent altercation was the act of security, calculated to abridge the prerogative of the crown, limit the successor, and throw a vast additional power into the hands of the parliament. It was considered paragraph by paragraph; many additions and alterations were proposed, and some adopted: inflammatory speeches were uttered; bitter sarcasms retorted from party to party; and different votes passed on different clauses. At length, in spite of the most obstinate opposition from the ministry and the cavaliers, it was passed by a majority of fifty-nine voices. The commissioner was importuned to give it the royal assent; but declined answering their entreaties till the tenth day of September. Then he made a speech in parliament, giving them to understand that he had received the Queen's pleasure, and was empowered to give the royal assent to all the acts voted in this session, except to the act for the security of the kingdom. A motion was made, to solicit the royal assent in an address to her Majesty; but the question being put, it was carried in the negative by a small majority. On the sixth day of the same month, the Earl of Marchmont had produced a bill to settle the succession on the House of Hanover. At first the import of it was not known; but, when the clerk in reading it mentioned the Princess Sophia, the whole House was kindled into a flame. Some proposed that the overture should be burned: others moved that the Earl might be sent prisoner to the castle; and a general dissatisfaction appeared in the whole assembly. Not that the majority in parliament

were averse to the succession in the house of Hanover: but they resolved to avoid a nomination without stipulating conditions; and they had already provided, in the act of security, that it should be high-treason to own any person as King or Queen after her Majesty's decease, until he or she should take the coronation-oath, and accept the terms of the claim of right, and such conditions as should be settled in this or any ensuing parliament.

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§ XXXIII. Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, a man of undaunted courage and inflexible integrity, who professed republican principles, and seemed designed by nature as a member of some Grecian Commonwealth, after having observed that the nation would be enslaved, should it submit, either willingly or by commission, to the successor of England, without such conditions of government as should secure them against the influence of an English ministry, offered the draft of an act, importing, That after the decease of her Majesty, without heirs of her body, no person being successor to the English throne should succeed to the crown of Scotland, but under the following limitations, which, together with the coronation-oath and claim of right, they should swear to observe: namely, That all offices and places, civil and military, as well as pensions, should for the future be conferred by a parliament to be chosen at every Michaelmas head-court, to sit on the first day of November, and adjourn themselves from time to time, till the ensuing Michaelmas: That they should chuse their own president: That a committee of six-and-thirty members, chosen out of the whole

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parliament, without distinction of estates, should, during the intervals of parliament, be vested, under the King, with the administration of the government, act as his council, be accountable to parliament, and call it together on extraordinary occasions. He proposed that the successor should be nominated by the majority; declaring for himself, that he would rather concur in nominating the most rigid papist with those conditions than the truest protestant without them. The motion was seconded by many members; and though postponed for the present, in favor of an act of trade under the consideration of the House, it was afterwards resumed with great warmth. In vain the Lord-Treasurer represented that no funds were as yet provided for the army, and moved for a reading of the act presented for that purpose: a certain member observed, that this was a very unseasonable juncture to propose a supply, when the House had so much to do for the security of the nation: he said they had very little encouragement to grant supplies, when they found themselves frustrated of all their labor and expense for these several months; and when the whole kingdom saw that supplies served for no other uses but to gratify the avarice of some insatiable ministers. Mr. Fletcher expatiated upon the good consequences that would arise from the act which he had proposed. The Chancellor answered, That such an act was laying a scheme for a commonwealth, and tending to innovate the constitution of the monarchy. The ministry proposed the state of a vote, whether they should first give a reading to Fletcher's act, or to the act of

subsidy. The country-party moved that the question might be, "overtures for subsidies, or overtures for liberty". Fletcher withdrew his act, rather than people should pervert the meaning of laudable designs. The House resounded with the cry of "Liberty or Subsidy." Bitter invectives were uttered against the ministry. One member said it was now plain the nation was to expect no other return for their expense and toil, than that of being loaded with a subsidy, and being obliged to bend their necks under the yoke of slavery, which was prepared for them from that throne: another observed, that as their liberties were suppressed, so the privileges of parliament were like to be torn from them; but that he would venture his life in defence of his birthright, and rather die a free man than live a slave. When the vote was demanded, and declined by the Commissioner, the Earl of Roxburgh declared, that if there was no other way of obtaining so natural and undeniable a privilege of parliament, they would demand it with their swords in their hands. The Commissioner, foreseeing this spirit of freedom and contradiction, he ordered the foot-guards to be in readiness, and placed a strong guard upon the eastern gate of the city. Notwithstanding these precautions, he ran the risque of being torn in pieces; and, in this apprehension, ordered the Chancellor to inform the House, that the parliament should proceed upon overtures for liberty at their next sitting. This promise allayed the ferment which had begun to rise. Next day the members prepared an overture, implying, That the elective members should be chosen

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for every feat at the Michaelmas head - courts: That a parliament should be held once in two years at least; That the short adjournments *de die in diem* should be made by the parliaments themselves, as in England; and that no officer in the army, customs, or excise, nor any gratuitous pensioner, should sit as an elective member. The Commissioner being apprized of their proceedings, called for such acts as he was empowered to pass, and having given the royal assent to them, prorogued the parliament to the twelfth day of October*. Such was the issue of this remarkable session of the Scottish parliament, in which the Duke of Queensberry was abandoned by the greatest part of the ministry; and such a spirit of ferocity and opposition prevailed, as threatened the whole kingdom with civil war and confusion. The Queen conferred titles upon those who appeared to have influence

* Though the Queen refused to pass the act of security, the royal assent was granted to an act of limitation on the successor, in which it was declared that no King or Queen of Scotland should have power to make war or peace without consent of parliament. Another law was enacted, allowing French wines and other liquors to be imported in neutral bottoms; Without this expedient, it was alledged that the revenue would have been insufficient to maintain the government. An act passed in favor of the company trading to Africa and the Indies; another for a commission concerning the public accounts; a third for punishing slanderous speeches and writings. The commission for treating of an union with England was vacated, with a prohibition to grant any other commission for that purpose without consent of parliament; and no supply having been provided before the adjournment, the army and expense of government were maintained upon credit.

* The Marquis of Athol, and the Marquis of Douglas, though this last was a minor, were created dukes: Lord Tarbat was

in the nation, and attachment to her government, and revived the order of the Thistle, which the late king had dropped.

§ XXXIV. Ireland was filled with discontent, by the behaviour and conduct of the trustees for the forfeited estates. The Earl of Rochester had contributed to foment the troubles of the kingdom, by encouraging the factions which had been imported from England. The Duke of Ormond was received with open arms, as heir to the virtues of his ancestors, who had been the bulwarks of the protestant interest in Ireland. He opened the parliament on the twenty-first day of September, with a speech to both Houses, in which he told them, that his inclination, his interest, and the examples of his progenitors, were indispensable obligations upon him, to improve every opportunity to the advantage and prosperity of his native country. The Commons having chosen Allen Broderick to be their speaker, proceeded to draw up very affectionate addresses to the Queen and the Lord-lieutenant. In that to the Queen they complained, that their enemies had misrepresented them, as desirous of being independent of the crown of England: they, therefore, to vindicate themselves from such false aspersions, declared and acknowledged, that the kingdom of Ireland was annexed

invested with the title of Earl of Cromarty: the Viscounts Stair and Roseberry were promoted to the same dignity. Lord Boyle was created Earl of Glasgow; James Stuart, of Bute, Earl of Bute; Charles Hope, of Hopetoun, Earl of Hopetoun; John Crawford, of Kilbirnie, Viscount Garnock; and Sir James Primrose, of Carrington, Viscount Primrose.

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and united to the imperial crown of England. In order to express their hatred of the trustees, they resolved, That all the protestant free-holders of that kingdom had been falsely and maliciously misrepresented, traduced, and abused, in a book entitled, "The Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the Irish forfeitures;" and it appearing that Francis Annesley, member of the House, John Trenchard, Henry Langford, and James Hamilton, were authors of that book, they further resolved, That these persons had scandalously and maliciously misrepresented and traduced the protestant free-holders of that kingdom, and endeavoured to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the people of England and the protestants of Ireland. Annesley was expelled the House, Hamilton was dead, and Trenchard had returned to England. They had finished the inquiry before the meeting of this parliament; and sold, at an under-value, the best of the forfeited estates to the Sword-blade company of England. This, in a petition to the Irish parliament, prayed that heads of a bill be brought in for enabling them to take conveyances of lands in Ireland: but the parliament was very little disposed to confirm the bargains of the trustees, and the petition lay neglected on the table. The House expelled John Asgill, who, as agent to the Sword-blade company, had offered to lend money to the public in Ireland, on condition that the parliament would pass an act to confirm the company's purchase of the forfeited estates. His constituents disowned his proposal; and when he was summoned to appear

before the House, and answer for his prevarication, he pleaded his privilege, as member of the English parliament. The Commons, in a representation of the state and grievances of the nation, gave her Majesty to understand, that the constitution of Ireland had been of late greatly shaken; and their lives, liberties, and estates, called in question, and tried in a manner unknown to their ancestors; that the expense to which they had been unnecessarily exposed by the late trustees for the forfeited estates, in defending their just rights and titles, had exceeded in value the current cash of the kingdom: that their trade was decayed, their money exhausted; and that they were hindered from maintaining their own manufactures: that many protestant families had been constrained to quit the kingdom, in order to earn a livelihood in foreign countries: that the want of frequent parliaments in Ireland had encouraged evil-minded men to oppress the subject: that many civil officers had acquired great fortunes in that impoverished country, by the exercise of corruption and oppression: that others, in considerable employments, resided in another kingdom, neglecting personal attendance on their duty, while their offices were ill executed, to the detriment of the public, and the failure of justice. They declared, that it was from her Majesty's gracious interposition alone they proposed to themselves relief from those their manifold groans and misfortunes. The Commons afterwards voted the necessary supplies, and granted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds to make good the deficiencies of the necessary branches of the establishment.

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§ XXXV. They appointed a committee to inspect the public accounts, by which they discovered that above one hundred thousand pounds had been falsely charged as a debt upon the nation. The committee was thanked by the House for having saved this sum, and ordered to examine what persons were concerned in such a misrepresentation, which was generally imputed to those who acted under the Duke of Ormond. He himself was a nobleman of honor and generosity, addicted to pleasure, and fond of popular applause: but he was surrounded by people of more sordid principles, who had ingratiated themselves into his confidence by the arts of adulation. The Commons voted a provision for the half-pay officers; and abolished pensions to the amount of seventeen thousand pounds a year, as unnecessary branches of the establishment. They passed an act settling the succession of the crown, after the pattern set them by England: but the most important transaction of this session was a severe bill to prevent the growth of popery. It bore a strong affinity to that which had passed three years before in England; but contained more effectual clauses. Among others, it enacted, That all estates of papists should be equally divided among the children, notwithstanding any settlement to the contrary, unless the persons on whom they might be settled should qualify themselves by taking the oaths, and communicating with the church of England. The bill was not at all agreeable to the ministry in England, who expected large presents from the papists, by whom a considerable sum had been actually raised for this purpose. But, as they did not think proper to

reject such a bill while the English parliament was sitting, they added a clause which they hoped the parliament of Ireland would refuse; namely, that no persons in that kingdom should be capable of any employment, or of being in the magistracy of any city, who did not qualify themselves by receiving the sacrament, according to the test-act passed in England. Though this was certainly a great hardship on the dissenters, the parliament of Ireland sacrificed this consideration to their common security against the Roman catholics, and accepted the amendment without hesitation. This affair being discussed, the Commons of Ireland passed a vote against a book entitled, "Memoirs of the late King James II," as a seditious libel. They ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman; and the bookseller and printer to be prosecuted. When this motion was made, a member informed the House, that in the county of Limerick, the Irish papists had begun to form themselves into bodies; to plunder the protestants of their arms and money; and to maintain a correspondence with the disaffected in England. The House immediately resolved, That the papists of the kingdom still retained hopes of the accession of the person known by the name of the Prince of Wales in the life-time of the late King James, and now by the name of James III. In the midst of this zeal against popery and the Pretender, they were suddenly adjourned by the command of the Lord-lieutenant, and broke up in great animosity against that nobleman¹⁰.

¹⁰ They had, besides the bills already mentioned, passed an

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§ XXXVI. The attention of the English ministry had been for some time chiefly engrossed by the affairs of the continent. The Emperor agreed with the allies, that his son the Archduke Charles should assume the title of King of Spain, demand the Infanta of Portugal in marriage, and undertake something of importance, with the assistance of the maritime powers. Mr. Methuen, the English minister at Lisbon, had already made some progress in a treaty with his Portuguese Majesty; and the court of Vienna promised to send such an army into the field as would in a little time drive the Elector of Bavaria from his dominions. But they were so dilatory in their preparations, that the French King broke all their measures, by sending powerful re-enforcement to the Elector, in whose ability and attachment Louis reposed great confidence. Mareschal Villars, who commanded an army of thirty thousand men at Strasburgh, passed the Rhine, and reduced fort Kehl, the garrison of which was conducted to Philippsburgh. The Emperor, alarmed at this event, ordered Count Schlick to enter Bavaria on the side of Saltzburgh, with a considerable body of forces; and sent another under Count Stirum, to invade the same electorate by the way of Newmark, which was surrendered to him, after he had routed a

act for an additional Excise on beer, ale, and other liquors: another encouraging the importation of iron and staves: a third for preventing popish priests from coming into the kingdom: a fourth securing the liberty of the subject, and for prevention of imprisonment beyond seas; and a fifth for naturalizing all protestant strangers.

party of Bavarians : the city of Amberg met with the same fate. Mean while Count Schlick defeated a body of militia that defended the lines of Saltzburgh, and made himself master of Riedt, and several other places. The Elector assembling his forces near Brenau, diffused a report that he intended to besiege Passau, to cover which place Schlick advanced with the greatest part of his infantry, leaving behind his cavalry and cannon. The Elector having by this feint divided the Imperialists, passed the bridge of Scardingen with twelve thousand men, and, after an obstinate engagement, compelled the Imperialists to abandon the field of battle: then he marched against the Saxon troops which guarded the artillery, and attacked them with such impetuosity, that they were entirely defeated. In a few days after these actions, he took Newburgh on the Inn by capitulation. He obtained another advantage over an advanced post of the Imperialists near Burgenfeldt, commanded by the young Prince of Brandenburg Anspach, who was mortally wounded in the engagement. He advanced to Ratisbon, where the diet of the empire was assembled, and demanded that he should be immediately put in possession of the bridge and gate of the city. The burghers immediately took to their arms, and planted cannon on the ramparts: but when they saw a battery erected against them, and the Elector determined to bombard the place, they thought proper to capitulate, and comply with his demands. He took possession of the town on the eighth day of April, and signed an instrument obliging himself to withdraw his troops, as soon as

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the Emperor should ratify the diet's resolution for the neutrality of Ratisbon. Marechal Villars having received orders to join the Elector at all events, and being re-enforced by a body of troops under Count Tallard, resolved to break through the lines which the Prince of Baden had made at Stolhoffen. This general had been luckily joined by eight Dutch battalions, and received the French army, though double his number, with such obstinate resolution, that Villars was obliged to retreat with great loss, and directed his route towards Offingen. Nevertheless, he penetrated through the Black Forest, and effected a junction with the Elector. Count Stirum endeavoured to join Prince Louis of Baden: but being attacked near Schwemmigen, retired under the cannon of Nortlingen.

§ XXXVII. The confederates were more successful on the Lower Rhine and in the Netherlands. The Duke of Marlborough crossed the sea in the beginning of April, and assembling the allied army, resolved that the campaign should be begun with the siege of Bonne, which was accordingly invested on the twenty-fourth day of April. Three different attacks were carried on against this place; one by the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel; another by the celebrated Coehorn; and a third by Lieutenant-General Fagel. The garrison defended themselves vigorously till the fourteenth day of May, when the fort having been taken by assault, and the breaches rendered practicable, the Marquis d'Alegre, the governor, ordered a parley to be beat: hostages were immediately exchanged: on the sixteenth the

capitulation was signed; and in three days the garrison evacuated the place, in order to be conducted to Luxemburgh. During the siege of Bonne, the Marshals Boufflers and Villeroy advanced with an army of forty thousand men towards Tongeren, and the confederate army commanded by M. D'Auverquerque was obliged at their approach to retreat under the cannon of Maestricht. The enemy having taken possession of Tongeren, made a motion against the confederate army, which they found already drawn up in order of battle, and so advantageously posted, that notwithstanding their great superiority in point of number, they would not hazard an attack; but retired to the ground from whence they had advanced. Immediately after the reduction of Bonne, the Duke of Marlborough, who had been present at the siege, returned to the confederate army in the Netherlands, now amounting to one hundred and thirty squadrons, and fifty-nine battalions. On the twenty-fifth day of May, the Duke having passed the river Jecker, in order to give battle to the enemy, they marched with precipitation to Boekwern, and abandoned Tongeren, after having blown up the walls of the place with gunpowder. The Duke continued to follow them to Thys, where he encamped, while they retreated to Hannye, retiring as he advanced. Then he resolved to force their lines: this service was effectually performed by Coehorn, at the point of Callo, and by Baron Spaar, in the county of Waes, near Stoken. The Duke had formed the design of reducing Antwerp, which was garrisoned by Spanish troops, under the command of the Marquis

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de Bedmar. He intended with the grand army to attack the enemy's lines on the side of Louvaine and Mechlin: he detached Coehorn with his flying camp on the right of the Scheldt, towards Dutch Flanders, to amuse the Marquis de Bedmar on that side; and he ordered the Baron Opdam, with twelve thousand men, to take post between Eckeren and Capelle, near Antwerp, that he might act against that part of the lines which was guarded by the Spanish forces.

§ XXXVIII. The French generals, in order to frustrate the scheme of Marlborough, resolved to cut off the retreat of Opdam. Boufflers, with a detachment of twenty thousand men from Villeroy's army, surprised him at Eckeren, where the Dutch were put in disorder; and Opdam, believing all was lost, fled to Breda. Nevertheless, the troops rallying under General Schlangenburgh, maintained their ground with the most obstinate valor, till night, when the enemy was obliged to retire, and left the communication free with fort Lillo, to which place the confederates marched without further molestation, having lost about fifteen hundred men in the engagement. The damage sustained by the French was more considerable. They were frustrated in their design, and had actually abandoned the field of battle: yet Louis ordered *Te Deum* to be sung for the victory: nevertheless, Boufflers was censured for his conduct on this occasion, and in a little time totally disgraced. Opdam presented a justification of his conduct to the States-General: but by this oversight he forfeited the fruits of a long service, during which

which he had exhibited repeated proofs of courage, zeal, and capacity. The States honored Schlagenburgh with a letter of thanks for the valor and skill he had manifested in this engagement: but, in a little time they dismissed him from his employment, on account of his having given umbrage to the Duke of Marlborough, by censuring his grace for exposing such a small number of men to this disaster. After this action, Villeroy, who lay encamped near St. Job, declared he would wait for the Duke of Marlborough, who forthwith advanced to Hoogstraat, with a view to give him battle: but, at his approach, the French general, setting fire to his camp, retired within his lines with great precipitation. Then the Duke invested Huy, the garrison of which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on the twenty-seventh day of August. At a council of war held in the camp of the confederates, the Duke proposed to attack the enemy's lines between the Meuse and Leuwe, and was seconded by the Danish, Hanoverian, and Hessian generals: but the scheme was opposed by the Dutch officers, and the deputies of the States, who alledged that the success was dubious, and the consequences of forcing the lines would be inconsiderable: they, therefore, recommended the siege of Limburgh, by the reduction of which they would acquire a whole province, and cover their own country, as well as Juliers and Gueldres, from the designs of the enemy. The siege of Limburgh was accordingly undertaken. The trenches were opened on the five-and-twentieth day of September,

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and in two days the place was surrendered; the garrison remaining prisoners of war. By this conquest the allies secured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologne, from the incursions of the enemy: before the end of the year, they remained masters of the whole Spanish Guelderland, by the reduction of Gueldres, which surrendered on the seventeenth day of September, after having been long blockaded, bombarded, and reduced to a heap of ashes, by the Prussian general, Lottum. Such was the campaign in the Netherlands, which in all probability would have produced events of greater importance, had not the Duke of Marlborough been restricted by the deputies of the States-General, who began to be influenced by the intrigues of the Louvestein faction, ever averse to a single dictator.

§ XXXIX. The French King redoubled his efforts in Germany. The Duke de Vendome was ordered to march from the Milanese to Tyrol, and there join the Elector of Bavaria, who had already made himself master of Inspruck. But the boors rising in arms, drove him out of the country before he could be joined by the French general, who was, therefore, obliged to return to the Milanese. The Imperialists in Italy were so ill supplied by the court of Vienna, that they could not pretend to act offensively. The French invested Ostiglia, which, however, they could not reduce: but the fortrefs of Barsillo, in the duchy of Reggio, capitulating after a long blockade, they took possession of the Duke of Modena's country. The Elector of Bavaria rejoining Villars, resolved to attack Count Stirum, whom Prince Louis of Baden had detached from his army. With

this view, they passed the Danube at Donawert, and discharged six guns, as a signal for the Marquis d'Usson, whom they had left in the camp at Lawingen, to fall upon the rear of the Imperialists, while they should charge them in front. Stirum no sooner perceived the signal, than he guessed the intention of the enemy, and instantly resolved to attack d'Usson before the Elector and the mareschal should advance. He, accordingly, charged him at the head of some select squadrons, with such impetuosity, that the French cavalry were totally defeated; and all his infantry would have been killed and taken, had not the elector and Villars come up in time to turn the fate of the day. The action continued from six in the morning till four in the afternoon, when Stirum being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to retreat to Nortlingen, with the loss of twelve thousand men, and all his baggage and artillery. In the mean time, the Duke of Burgundy, assisted by Tallard, undertook the siege of Old Brisac, with a prodigious train of artillery. The place was very strongly fortified, though the garrison was small, and ill provided with necessaries. In fourteen days, the governor surrendered the place, and was condemned to lose his head, for having made such a slender defence. The Duke of Burgundy returned in triumph to Versailles, and Tallard was ordered to invest Landau. The Prince of Hesse-Cassel being detached from the Netherlands, for the relief of the place, joined the Count of Nassau-Weilburgh, general of the Palatine forces, near Spires, where they resolved to attack the French in their lines. But by

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this time Mons. Pracontal, with ten thousand men, had joined Tallard, and enabled him to strike a stroke which proved decisive. He suddenly quitted his lines, and surprised the Prince at Spirebach, where the French obtained a complete victory, after a very obstinate and bloody engagement, in which the Prince of Hesse distinguished himself by uncommon marks of courage and presence of mind. Three horses were successively killed under him, and he slew a French officer with his own hand. After incredible efforts, he was fain to retreat with the loss of some thousands. The French paid dear for their victory, Pracontal having been slain in the action. Nevertheless, they resumed the siege, and the place was surrendered by capitulation. The campaign in Germany was finished with the reduction of Augsburgh by the Elector of Bavaria, who took it in the month of December, and agreed to its being secured by a French garrison.

§ XL. The Emperor's affairs at this juncture wore a very unpromising aspect. The Hungarians were fleeced, and barbarously oppressed, by those to whom he intrusted the government of their country. They derived courage from despair. They seized this opportunity, when the Emperor's forces were divided, and his councils distracted, to exert themselves in defence of their liberties. They ran to arms, under the auspices of Prince Ragotzki. They demanded that their grievances should be redressed and their privileges restored. Their resentment was kept up by the emissaries of France and Bavaria, who likewise encouraged them to persevere in their revolt, by repeated promises of protection and assistance.

The Emperor's prospect, however, was soon mended, by two incidents of very great consequence to his interest. The Duke of Savoy, foreseeing how much he should lie exposed to the mercy of the French King, should that monarch become master of the Milanese, engaged in a secret negociation with the Emperor, which, notwithstanding all his caution, was discovered by the court of Versailles. Louis immediately ordered the Duke de Vendome to disarm the troops of Savoy that were in his army, to the number of two-and-twenty thousand men; to insist upon the Duke's putting him in possession of four considerable fortresses; and demand that the number of his troops should be reduced to the establishment stipulated in the treaty of 1696. The Duke exasperated at these insults, ordered the French ambassador, and several officers of the same nation, to be arrested. Louis endeavoured to intimidate him by a menacing letter, in which he gave him to understand, that since neither religion, honor, interest, nor alliances had been able to influence his conduct, the Duke de Vendome should make known the intentions of the French monarch, and allow him four-and-twenty hours to deliberate on the measures he should pursue. This letter was answered by a manifesto: in the mean time, the Duke concluded a treaty with the court of Vienna: acknowledged the Archduke Charles as King of Spain; and sent envoys to England and Holland. Queen Anne knowing his importance, as well as his selfish disposition, assured him of her friendship and assistance; and both she and the States sent ambassadors to

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Turin. He was immediately joined by a body of Imperial horse under Visconti, and afterwards by Count Staremberg, at the head of fifteen thousand men, with whom that general marched from the Modenese, in the worst season of the year, through an enemy's country, and roads that were deemed impassable. In vain the French forces harassed him in his march, and even surrounded him in many different places on the route: he surmounted all these difficulties with incredible courage and perseverance, and joined the Duke of Savoy at Canelli, so as to secure the country of Piedmont. The other incident which proved so favorable to the Imperial interest, was a treaty by which the King of Portugal acceded to the grand alliance. His ministry perceived, that should Spain be once united to the crown of France, their master would sit very insecure upon his throne. They were intimidated by the united fleets of the maritime powers, which maintained the empire of the sea; and they were allured by the splendor of a match between their Infanta and the Archduke Charles, to whom the Emperor and the King of the Romans promised to transfer all their pretensions to the Spanish crown. By this treaty, concluded at Lisbon, between the Emperor, the Queen of Great-Britain, the King of Portugal, and the States-General, it was stipulated, That King Charles should be conveyed to Portugal by a powerful fleet, having on board twelve thousand soldiers, with a great supply of money, arms, and ammunition; and that he should be joined immediately upon his landing by an army of eight - and - twenty thousand Portuguese.

§ XLI. The confederates reaped very little advantage from the naval operations of this summer. Sir George Rook cruised in the channel, in order to alarm the coast of France, and protect the trade of England. On the first day of July, Sir Cloudefley Shovel sailed from St. Helen's, with the combined squadrons of England and Holland: he directed his course to the Mediterranean, and being reduced to great difficulty by want of water, steered to Altea, on the coast of Valentia, where Brigadier Seymour landed, and encamped with five- and - twenty hundred marines. The Admiral published a short manifesto, signifying that he was not come to disturb, but to protect, the good subjects of Spain, who should swear allegiance to their lawful monarch, the Archduke Charles, and endeavour to shake off the yoke of France. This declaration produced little or no effect; and the fleet being watered, Sir Cloudefley sailed to Leghorn. One design of this armament was to assist the Cevennois, who had in the course of the preceding year been persecuted into a revolt on account of religion, and implored the assistance of England and the States-General. The Admiral detached two ships into the gulf of Narbonne, with some refugees and French pilots, who had concerted signals with the Cevennois: but the Marechal de Montrevil having received intimation of their design, took such measures as prevented all communication; and the English captains having repeated their signals to no purpose, rejoined Sir Cloudefley at Leghorn. This admiral, having renewed the peace with the piratical states of Barbary, returned

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to England, without having taken one effectual step for annoying the enemy, or attempted any thing that looked like the result of a concerted scheme for that purpose. The nation naturally murmured at the fruitless expedition, by which it had incurred such a considerable expense. The merchants complained that they were ill supplied with convoys. The ships of war were victualled with damaged provision; and every article of the marine being mismanaged, the blame fell upon those who acted as council to the lord high - admiral.

§ XLII. Nor were the arms of England by sea much more successful in the West-Indies. Sir George Rook, in the preceding year, had detached from the Mediterranean Captain Hovenden Walker, with six ships of the line and transports, having on board four regiments of soldiers, for the Leeward islands. Being joined at Antigua by some troops under Colonel Codrington, they made a descent upon the island of Guadaloupe, where they rased the fort, burned the town, ravaged the country, and re-embarked with precipitation, in consequence of a report that the French had landed nine hundred men on the back of the island. They retired to Nevis, where they must have perished by famine, had not they been providentially relieved by Vice-Admiral Graydon, in his way to Jamaica. This officer had been sent out with three ships to succeed Benbow, and was convoyed about one hundred and fifty leagues by two other ships of the line. He had not sailed many days, when he fell in with part of the French squadron, commanded by Du Casse, on their return from the West-Indies, very foul, and richly laden. Captain

Cleland, of the Montague, engaged the sternmost; but he was called off by a signal from the Admiral, who proceeded on his voyage, without taking further notice of the enemy. When he arrived at Jamaica, he quarrelled with the principal planters of the island; and his ships beginning to be crazy, he resolved to return to England. He, accordingly, sailed through the gulf of Florida, with a view to attack the French at Placentia, in Newfoundland: but his ships were dispersed in a fog that lasted thirty days: and afterwards the council of war which he convoked were of opinion that he could not attack the settlement with any prospect of success. At his return to England, the House of Lords, then sitting, set on foot an inquiry into his conduct. They presented an address to the Queen, desiring she would remove him from his employments; and he was accordingly dismissed. The only exploit that tended to distress the enemy was performed by Rear-Admiral Dilkes, who, in the month of July, sailed to the coast of France with a small squadron; and in the neighbourhood of Granville, took or destroyed about forty ships and their convoy. Yet this damage was inconsiderable, when compared to that which the English navy sustained from the dreadful tempest that began to blow on the twenty-seventh day of November, accompanied with such flashes of lightning, and peals of thunder, as overwhelmed the whole kingdom with consternation. The houses in London shook from their foundations, and some of them falling, buried the inhabitants in their ruins. The water overflowed several streets, and rose to a

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 1. bridge was almost choked up with the wrecks of
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 by the capital was computed at a million sterling;
 and the city of Bristol suffered to a prodigious
 amount: but the chief national damage fell upon
 the navy. Thirteen ships of war were lost, together
 with fifteen hundred seamen, including Rear-Ad-
 miral Beaumont, who had been employed in ob-
 serving the Dunkirk-squadron, and was then at
 anchor in the Downs, where his ship foundered.
 This great loss, however, was repaired with incre-
 dible diligence, to the astonishment of all Europe.
 The Queen immediately issued orders for building
 a greater number of ships than that which had been
 destroyed; and she exercised her bounty for the
 relief of the shipwrecked seamen, and the widows
 of those who were drowned, in such a manner as
 endeared her to all her subjects.

§ XLIII. The Emperor having declared his second
 son Charles King of Spain, that young prince set out
 from Vienna to Holland, and at Dusseldorp was
 visited by the Duke of Marlborough, who, in the
 name of his mistress, congratulated him upon his
 accession to the crown of Spain. Charles received him
 with the most obliging courtesy. In the course of
 their conversation, taking off his sword, he present-
 ed it to the English general, with a very gracious
 aspect, saying, in the French language, "I am
 " not ashamed to own myself a poor prince. I
 " possess nothing but my cloak and sword; the
 " latter may be of use to your Grace; and I

“hope you will not think it the worse for my wearing it one day.” “On the contrary (replied the Duke) “it will always put me in mind of your Majesty’s just right and title, and of the obligations I lie under to hazard my life in making you the greatest prince in Christendom.” — This nobleman returned to England in October; and King Charles embarking for the same kingdom, under convoy of an English and Dutch squadron, arrived at Spithead on the twenty-sixth day of September. There he was received by the Dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, who conducted him to Windsor; and on the road he was met by Prince George of Denmark. The Queen’s deportment towards him was equally noble and obliging; and he expressed the most profound respect and veneration for this illustrious princess. He spoke but little; yet what he said was judicious; and he behaved with such politeness and affability as conciliated the affection of the English nobility. After having been magnificently entertained for three days, he returned to Portsmouth, from whence, on the fourth of January, he sailed for Portugal, with a great fleet, commanded by Sir George Rook, having on board a body of land-forces, under the Duke of Schomberg. When the admiral had almost reached Cape Finisterre, he was driven back by a storm to Spithead, where he was obliged to remain till the middle of February. Then being favored with a fair wind, he happily performed the voyage of Lisbon, where King Charles was received with great splendor, though the court of Portugal was overspread with sorrow, excited

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by the death of the Infanta, whom the King of Spain intended to espouse. In Poland, all hope of peace seemed to vanish. The cardinal-primate, by the instigation of the Swedish king, whose army lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Dantzick, assembled a diet at Warsaw, which solemnly deposed Augustus, and declared the throne vacant. Their intention was to elect young Sobieski, son of the late monarch, who resided at Breslaw, in Silesia: but their scheme was anticipated by Augustus, who retired hastily into his Saxon dominions, and seizing Sobieski, with his brother, secured them as prisoners at Dresden.

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- § I. *The Commons revive the bill against occasional conformity.* II. *Conspiracy trumped up by Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat.* III. *The Lords present a remonstrance to the Queen.* IV. *The Commons pass a vote in favor of the Earl of Nottingham.* V. *Second remonstrance of the Lords.* VI. *Further disputes between the two Houses.* VII. *The Queen grants the first fruits and the tenths to the poor clergy.* VIII. *Inquiry into naval affairs.* IX. *Trial of Lindsay.* X. *Meeting of the Scottish parliament.* XI. *Violent opposition to the ministry in that kingdom.* XII. *Their parliament pass the act of security.* XIII. *Melancholy situation of the Emperor's affairs.* XIV. *The Duke of Marlborough marches at the head of the allied army into Germany.* XV. *He defeats the Bavarians at Schellenberg.* XVI. *Fruitless negotiation with the Elector of Bavaria.* XVII. *The confederates obtain a complete victory at Hochstadt.* XVIII. *Siege of Landau.* XIX. *The Duke of Marlborough returns to England.* XX. *State of the war in different parts of Europe.* XXI. *Campaign in Portugal.* XXII. *Sir George Rook takes Gibraltar.* XXIII. *And worsts the French fleet in a battle off Malaga.* XXIV. *Session of parliament in England.* XXV. *An act of alienation passed against the Scots.* XXVI. *Manour of Woodstock granted to the Duke of Marlborough.* XXVII. *Disputes between the two Houses on the subject of the Aylesbury constables.*

XXVIII. *The parliament dissolved.* XXIX. *Proceedings in the parliament of Scotland.* XXX. *They pass an act for a treaty of union with England.* XXXI. *Difference between the parliament and convocation in Ireland.* XXXII. *Fruitless campaign on the Moselle.* XXXIII. *The Duke of Marlborough forces the French lines in Brabant.* XXXIV. *He is prevented by the Deputies of the States from attacking the French army.* XXXV. *He visits the Imperial court of Vienna.* XXXVI. *State of the war on the Upper-Rhine, in Hungary, Piedmont, Portugal, and Poland.* XXXVII. *Sir Thomas Dilkes destroys part of the French fleet, and relieves Gibraltar.* XXXVIII. *The Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel reduce Barcelona.* XXXIX. *The Earl's surprising progress in Spain.* XL. *New parliament in England.* XLI. *Bill for a regency in case of the Queen's decease.* XLII. *Debates in the House of Lords upon the supposed danger to which the church was exposed.* XLIII. *The parliament prorogued. Disputes in the convocation.* XLIV. *Conferences opened for a treaty of union with Scotland.* XLV. *Substance of the treaty.*

CHAP. § I. **W**HEN the parliament met in October, the
 VIII. Queen in her speech took notice of the declaration
 1703. by the Duke of Savoy, and the treaty with Portugal, as circumstances advantageous to the alliance. She told them, that although no provision was made for the expedition to Lisbon, and the augmentation of the land-forces, the funds had answered so well, and the

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produce of prizes been so considerable, that the public had not run in debt by those additional services: that she had contributed out of her own revenue to the support of the circle of Suabia, whose firm adherence to the interest of the allies deserved her seasonable assistance. She said, she would not engage in any unnecessary expense of her own, that she might have the more to spare towards the ease of her subjects. She recommended dispatch and union, and earnestly exhorted them to avoid any heats or divisions that might give encouragement to the common enemies of the church and state. Notwithstanding this admonition, and the addresses of both Houses, in which they promised to avoid all divisions, a motion was made in the House of Commons for renewing the bill against occasional conformity, and carried by a great majority. In the new draft, however, the penalties were lowered, and the severest clauses mitigated. As the court no longer interested itself in the success of this measure, the House was pretty equally divided with respect to the speakers, and the debates on each side were maintained with equal spirit and ability; at length it passed, and was sent up to the Lords, who handled it still more severely. It was opposed by a small majority of the bishops, and particularly by Burnet of Sarum, who declaimed against it, as a scheme of the papists to set the church and protestants at variance. It was successively attacked by the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lords Haversham, Mohun, Ferrars, and Wharton. Prince George of Denmark absented himself from the House; and the question

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I. the negative; yet the Duke of Marlborough and
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 being rejected, though the former had positively de-
 clared, that he thought the bill unseasonable. The
 Commons having perused a copy of the treaty with
 Portugal, voted forty thousand men, including five
 thousand mariners, for the sea-service of the ensuing
 year; and a like number of land-forces, to act in con-
 junction with the allies, besides the additional ten
 thousand: they likewise resolved, That the pro-
 portion to be employed in Portugal should amount
 to eight thousand. Sums were granted for the main-
 tenance of these great armaments, as well as for the
 subsidies payable to her Majesty's allies; and funds
 appointed equal to the occasion. Then they assured
 the Queen, in an address, that they would provide
 for the support of such alliances as she had made, or
 should make, with the Duke of Savoy.

§ II. At this period the nation was alarmed by the
 detection of a conspiracy said to be hatched by the
 Jacobites of Scotland. Simon Fraser Lord Lovat, a
 man of desperate enterprise, profound dissimulation,
 abandoned morals, and ruined fortune, who had
 been outlawed for having ravished a sister of the
 marquis of Athol, was the person to whom the plot
 seems to have owed its origin. He repaired to the
 court of St. Germain's, where he undertook to as-
 semble a body of twelve thousand Highlanders to
 act in favor of the Pretender, if the court of France
 would assist them with a small re-enforcement of
 troops, together with officers, arms, ammunition,
 and

and money. The French King seemed to listen to the proposal; but, as Frazer's character was infamous, he doubted his veracity. He was, therefore, sent back to Scotland with two other persons, who were instructed to learn the strength and sentiments of the clans, and endeavour to engage some of the nobility in the design of an insurrection. Frazer no sooner returned, than he privately discovered the whole transaction to the Duke of Queensberry, and undertook to make him acquainted with the whole correspondence between the Pretender and the Jacobites. In consequence of this service he was provided with a pass, to secure him from all prosecution; and made a progress through the Highlands, to sound the inclination of the chieftains. Before he set out on this circuit, he delivered to the Duke a letter from the Queen Dowager at St. Germain's, directed to the Marquis of Athol: it was couched in general terms, and superscribed in a different character; so that, in all probability, Frazer had forged the direction, with a view to ruin the Marquis, who had prosecuted him for the injury done to his sister. He proposed a second journey to France, where he should be able to discover other more material circumstances; and the Duke of Queensberry procured a pass for him to go to Holland from the Earl of Nottingham, though it was expedited under a borrowed name. The Duke had communicated his discovery to the Queen, without disclosing his name, which he desired might be concealed: her Majesty believed the particulars, which were confirmed by her spies at Paris, as well as by the evidence of Sir John

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Maclean, who had lately been conveyed from France to England in an open boat, and apprehended at Folkestone. This gentleman pretended at first, that his intention was to go through England to his own country, in order to take the benefit of the Queen's pardon; and this, in all probability, was his real design: but, being given to understand that he would be treated in England as a traitor, unless he should merit forgiveness, by making important discoveries, he related all he knew of the proposed insurrection. From his information the ministry gave directions for apprehending one Keith, whose uncle had accompanied Frazer from France, and knew all the intrigues of the court of St. Germain's. He declared, that there was no other design on foot, except that of paving the way of the Pretender's ascending the throne after the Queen's decease. Ferguson, that veteran conspirator, affirmed that Frazer had been employed by the Duke of Queensberry to decoy some persons whom he hated into a conspiracy, that he might have an opportunity to effect their ruin; and by the discovery establish his own credit, which began to totter. Perhaps there was too much reason for this imputation. Among those who were seized at this time, was a gentleman of the name of Lindsay, who had been under-secretary to the Earl of Middleton. He had returned from France to Scotland, in order to take the benefit of the Queen's pardon, under the shelter of which he came to England, thinking himself secure from prosecution. He protested he knew of no designs against the Queen or her government; and that he

did not believe she would ever receive the least injury or molestation from the court of St. Germain's. The House of Lords having received intimation of this conspiracy, resolved, That a Committee should be appointed to examine into the particulars; and ordered, That Sir John Maclean should be next day brought to their House. The Queen, who was far from being pleased with this instance of their officious interposition, gave them to understand by message, that she thought it would be inconvenient to change the method of examination already begun; and that she would in a short time inform the House of the whole affair. On the seventeenth day of December the Queen went to the House of Peers, and having passed the bill for the land-tax, made a speech to both Houses, in which she declared, that she had unquestionable information of ill practices and designs carried on by the emissaries of France in Scotland. The Lords persisting in their resolution to bring the inquiry into their own House, chose their select committee by ballot; and, in an address, thanked her Majesty for the information she had been pleased to communicate.

§ III. The Commons, taking it for granted that the Queen was disobliged at these proceedings of the Upper-House, which, indeed, implied an insult upon her ministry, if not upon herself, presented an address, declaring themselves surprised to find, that when persons suspected of treasonable practices were taken into custody by her Majesty's messengers, in order to be examined, the Lords, in violation to the known laws of the land, had wrested them out of

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her hands, and arrogated the examination solely to themselves; so that a due inquiry into the evil practices and designs against her Majesty's person and government might, in a great measure, be obstructed. They earnestly desired, that she would suffer no diminution of the prerogative; and they assured her, they would, to the utmost of their power, support her in the exercise of it at home, as well as in asserting it against all invasions whatsoever. The Queen thanked them for their concern and assurances; and was not ill pleased at the nature of the address, though the charge against the Peers was not strictly true; for there were many instances of their having assumed such a right of inquiry. The Upper-House deeply repented the accusation. They declared, that by the known laws and customs of parliament, they had an undoubted right to take examinations of persons charged with criminal matters, whether those persons were, or were not in custody. They resolved, That the address of the Commons was unparliamentary, groundless, without precedent, highly injurious to the House of Peers, tending to interrupt the good correspondence between the two Houses, to create an ill opinion in her Majesty of the House of Peers, of dangerous consequence to the liberties of the people, the constitution of the kingdom, and privileges of parliament. They presented a long remonstrance to the Queen, justifying their own conduct, explaining the steps they had taken, recriminating upon the Commons, and expressing the most fervent zeal, duty, and affection to her Majesty. In her answer to this representation, which was drawn up with elegance,

propriety, and precision, she professed her sorrow for the misunderstanding which had happened between the two Houses of Parliament, and thanked them for the concern they had expressed for the rights of the crown and the prerogative, which she should never exert so willingly as for the good of her subjects, and the protection of their liberties.

§ IV. Among other persons seized on the coast of Suffex, on their landing from France, was one Boucher, who had been aide-de-camp to the Duke of Berwick. This man, when examined, denied all knowledge of any conspiracy; he said, that being weary of living so long abroad, and having made some unsuccessful attempts to obtain a pass, he had chosen rather to cast himself on the Queen's mercy, than to remain longer in exile from his native country. He was tried and condemned for high-treason, yet continued to declare himself ignorant of the plot. He proved, that in the war of Ireland, as well as in Flanders, he had treated the English prisoners with great humanity. The Lords desisted from the prosecution; he obtained a reprieve, and died in Newgate. On the twenty-ninth day of January the Earl of Nottingham told the House, that the Queen had commanded him to lay before them the papers containing all the particulars hitherto discovered of the conspiracy in Scotland; but that there was one circumstance which could not yet be properly communicated, without running the risque of preventing a discovery of greater importance. They forthwith drew up and presented an address, desiring, that all the papers might be immediately submitted to their

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inspection. The Queen said she did not expect to be pressed in this manner immediately after the declaration she had made; but in a few days the Earl of Nottingham delivered the papers sealed to the House, and all the Lords were summoned to attend on the eighth day of February, that they might be opened and perused. Nottingham was suspected of a design to stifle the conspiracy. Complaint was made in the House of Commons, that he had discharged an officer belonging to the late King James, who had been seized by the governor of Berwick. A warm debate ensued, and at length ended in a resolve, That the Earl of Nottingham, one of her Majesty's principal secretaries of state, for his great ability and diligence in the execution of his office, for his unquestionable fidelity to the Queen and her government, and for his steady adhering to the church of England as by law established, highly merited the trust her Majesty had reposed in him. They ordered the Speaker to present this resolution to the Queen, who said, she was glad to find them so well satisfied with the Earl of Nottingham, who was trusted by her in so considerable an office. They perused the examinations of the witnesses which were laid before them, without passing judgment, or offering advice on the subject: but they thanked her Majesty for having communicated those particulars, as well as for her wisdom and care of the nation. When the Lords proceeded with uncommon eagerness in their inquiry, the Lower-House, in another address, renewed their complaints against the conduct of the peers, which they still affirmed was

without a precedent. But this was the language of irritated faction, by which indeed both sides were equally actuated.

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§ V. The select committee of the Lords prosecuted the inquiry, and founded their report chiefly on the confession of Sir John Maclean, who owned, that the court of St. Germain's had listened to Lovat's proposal: that several councils had been held at the Pretender's court on the subject of an invasion; and that persons were sent over to found some of the nobility in Scotland. But the nature of their private correspondence and negociation could not be discovered. Keith had tampered with his uncle to disclose the whole secret; and this was the circumstance which the Queen declined imparting to the Lords, until she should know the success of his endeavours, which proved ineffectual. The uncle stood aloof; and the ministry did not heartily engage in the inquiry. The House of Lords having finished these examinations, and being warmed with violent debates, voted, That there had been dangerous plots between some persons in Scotland and the courts of France and St. Germain's; and, That the encouragement for this plotting arose from the not settling the succession to the crown of Scotland in the House of Hanover. These votes were signified to the Queen in an address; and they promised, that when the succession should be thus settled, they would endeavour to promote the union of the two kingdoms upon just and reasonable terms. Then they composed another representation, in answer to the second address of the

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Commons, touching their proceedings. They charged the Lower House with want of zeal in the whole progress of this inquiry. They produced a great number of precedents, to prove that their conduct had been regular and parliamentary; and they, in their turn, accused the Commons of partiality and injustice in vacating legal elections. The Queen, in answer to this remonstrance, said, she looked upon any misunderstanding between the two Houses as a very great misfortune to the kingdom; and that she should never omit any thing in her power to prevent all occasions of them for the future.

§ VI. The Lords and Commons, animated by such opposite principles, seized every opportunity of thwarting each other. An action having been brought by one Matthew Ashby against William White, and the other constables of Aylesbury, for having denied him the privilege of voting, in the last election, the cause was tried at the assizes, and the constables were cast with damages. But an order was given in the Queen's-Bench to quash all the proceedings, since no action had ever been brought on that account. The cause being moved by writ of error into the House of Lords, was argued with great warmth: at length it was carried by a great majority, that the order of the Queen's-Bench should be set aside, and judgment pronounced according to the verdict given at the assizes. The Commons considered these proceedings as encroachments on their privileges. They passed five different resolutions, importing, That the Commons of England in

parliament assembled had the sole right to examine and determine all matters relating to the right of Election of their own members: That the practice of determining the qualifications of electors in any court of law would expose all mayors, bailiffs, and returning officers, to a multiplicity of vexatious suits, and insupportable expenses, and subject them to different and independent jurisdictions, as well as to inconsistent determinations in the same case, without relief: That Matthew Ashby was guilty of a breach of privilege, as were all attornies, solicitors, counsellors, and serjeants at law, soliciting, prosecuting, or pleading, in any case of the same nature. These resolutions, signed by the clerk, were fixed upon the gate of Westminster-hall. On the other hand, the Lords appointed a committee to draw up a state of the case; and, upon their report, resolved, That every person being wilfully hindered to exercise his right of voting, might maintain an action in the Queen's courts against the officer by whom his vote should be refused, to assert his right, and recover damage for the injury: That an assertion to the contrary was destructive of the property of the subjects, against the freedom of elections, and manifestly tended to the encouragement of partiality and corruption: That the declaring of Matthew Ashby guilty of a breach of privilege of the House of Commons was an unprecedented attempt upon the judicature of parliament, and an attempt to subject the law of England to the votes of the House of Commons. Copies of the case, and these resolutions, were sent by the Lord-keeper to all the sheriffs

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§ VII. On the seventh day of February the Queen ordered Secretary Hedges to tell the House of Commons, that she had remitted the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy: that she would grant her whole revenue arising out of the first-fruits and tenths, as far as it should become free from encumbrance, as an augmentation of their maintenance: that if the House of Commons could find any method by which her intentions to the poor clergy might be made more effectual, it would be an advantage to the public, and acceptable to her Majesty. The Commons immediately brought in a bill, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and create a corporation by charter, to direct the application of it to the uses proposed: they likewise repealed the statute of Mortmain, so far as to allow all men to bequeath by will, or grant by deed, any sum they should think fit to give towards the augmentation of benefices. Addresses of thanks and acknowledgement from all the clergy of England were presented to the Queen for her gracious bounty: but very little regard was paid to Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, although the Queen declared that prelate author of the project. He was generally hated either as a Scot, a low-church-man, or a meddling partisan.

§ VIII. In March an inquiry into the condition of the navy was begun in the House of Lords. They desired the Queen, in an address, to give speedy and effectual orders, that a number of ships sufficient for the home-service should be equipped and manned

with all possible expedition. They resolved, That Admiral Graydon's not attacking the four French ships in the channel had been a prejudice to the Queen's service, and a disgrace to the nation: That his pressing men in Jamaica, and his severity towards masters of merchant-vessels and transports, had been a great discouragement to the inhabitants of that island, as well as prejudicial to her Majesty's service; and they presented the address against him, in consequence of which he was dismissed. They examined the accounts of the Earl of Orford against which great clamor had been raised; and, taking cognizance of the remarks made by the commissioners of the public accounts, found them false in fact, ill-grounded, or of no importance. The Commons besought the Queen to order a prosecution on account of ill practices in the Earl of Ranelagh's office: and they sent up to the Lords a bill for continuing the commission on the public accounts. Some alterations were made in the Upper House, especially in the nomination of commissioners; but these were rejected by the Commons. The Peers adhering to their amendments, the bill dropped, and the commission expired. No other bill of any consequence passed in this session, except an act for raising recruits, which empowered justices of the peace to impress idle persons for soldiers and marines. On the third day of April the Queen went to the House of Peers, and having made a short speech on the usual topics of acknowledgment, unity, and moderation, prorogued the parliament to the fourth day of July. The division still continued between the two Houses of

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convocation; so that nothing of moment was transacted in that assembly, except their address to the Queen upon her granting the first-fruits and tenths for the augmentation of small benefices. At the same time, the Lower House sent their prolocutor with a deputation to wait upon the Speaker of the House of Commons, to return their thanks to that honorable House for having espoused the interest of the clergy; and to assure them that the convocation would pursue such methods as might best conduce to the support, honor, interest, and security of the church as now by law established. They sent up to the archbishop and prelates divers representations, containing complaints, and proposing canons and articles of reformation: but very little regard was paid to their remonstrances.

§ IX. About this period the Earl of Nottingham, after having ineffectually pressed the Queen to discard the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, resigned the seals. The Earl of Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour were dismissed: the Earl of Kent was appointed chamberlain, Harley secretary of state, and Henry St. John secretary of war. The discovery of the Scottish conspiracy was no sooner known in France, than Louis ordered Frazer to be imprisoned in the Bastile. In England, Lindsay being sentenced to die for having corresponded with France, was given to understand that he had no mercy to expect unless he would discover the conspiracy. He persisted in denying all knowledge of any such conspiracy; and scorned to save his life by giving false information. In order to intimidate him into a

confession, the ministry ordered him to be conveyed to Tyburn, where he still rejected life upon the terms proposed: then he was carried back to Newgate, where he remained some years: at length he was banished, and died of hunger in Holland. The ministers had been so lukewarm and languid in the investigation of the Scottish conspiracy, that the Whigs loudly exclaimed against them as disguised Jacobites, and even whispered insinuations, implying, that the Queen herself had a secret bias of sisterly affection for the court of St. Germain's. What seemed to confirm this allegation, was the disgrace of the Duke of Queensberry, who had exerted himself with remarkable zeal in the detection: but the decline of his interest in Scotland was the real cause of his being laid aside at this juncture.

§ X. The design of the court was to procure in the Scottish parliament the nomination of a successor to the crown, and a supply for the forces, which could not be obtained in the preceding session. Secretary Johnstone, in concert with the Marquis of Tweeddale, undertook to carry these points, in return for certain limitations on the successor, to which her Majesty agreed^x. The Marquis was appointed commissioner. The office of lord-register was bestowed upon Johnstone; and the parliament met on the sixth day of July. The Queen, in her letter, expressed her concern that these divisions should have risen to such a height, as to encourage the enemies of the nation to employ their emissaries for debauching her good

^x Burnet. Hist. of Q. Anne. Feuquieres. Lockhart. Burchet. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals. Voltaire. Hist. of Europe. Hist. of the D. of Marlborough.

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I. resolution to grant whatever could in reason be
 demanded for quieting the minds of the people. She told them, she had empowered the Marquis of Tweeddale to give unquestionable proofs of her determination to maintain the government in church and state as by law established in that kingdom; to consent to such laws as should be found wanting for the further security of both, and for preventing all encroachments for the future. She earnestly exhorted them to settle the succession in the protestant line, as a step absolutely necessary for their own peace and happiness, the quiet and security of all her dominions, the reputation of her affairs abroad, and the improvement of the protestant interest through all Europe. She declared, that she had authorized the commissioner to give the royal assent to whatever could be reasonably demanded, and was in her power to grant, for securing the sovereignty and liberties of that her ancient kingdom. The remaining part of the letter turned upon the necessity of their granting a supply, the discouragement of vice, the encouragement of commerce, and the usual recommendation of moderation and unanimity.

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§ XI. The Duke of Hamilton presented a resolve, That the parliament would not name a successor to the crown, until the Scots should have concluded a previous treaty with England, in relation to commerce and other concerns. This motion produced a warm debate, in the course of which Fletcher of Saltoun expatiated upon the hardships and miseries which the Scots had sustained since the union of the two

crowns under one sovereign, and the impossibility of bettering their condition, unless they should take care to anticipate any design that tended to a continuation of the same calamities. Another resolve was produced by the Earl of Rothes, importing. That the parliament should proceed to make such limitations and conditions of government as might be judged proper for rectifying the constitution; for vindicating and securing the sovereignty and independency of the nation; and that then the parliament would take into consideration the other resolve offered by the Duke of Hamilton, for a treaty previous to the nomination of a successor. This proposal was seconded by the court-party, and violent heats ensued. At length, Sir James Falconer, of Phesdo, offered an expedient, which neither party could refuse with any show of moderation. He suggested a resolve, That the parliament would not proceed to the nomination of a successor, until the previous treaty with England should be discussed; and that it would make the necessary limitations and conditions of government, before the successor should be nominated. This joint resolve being put to the vote, was carried by a great majority. The treaty with England was neglected, and the affair of the succession consequently postponed. The Duke of Athol moved, That her Majesty should be desired to send down the witnesses and all the papers relating to the conspiracy, that, after due examination, those who were unjustly accused might be vindicated, and the guilty punished according to their demerits. The commissioner declared, that he had already written,

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and would write again to the Queen on that subject. The intention of the cavaliers was to convict the Duke of Queensberry of malice and calumny in the prosecution of that affair, that they might wreak their vengeance upon him for that instance of his animosity, as well as for his having deserted them in the former session. He found means, however, to persuade the Queen, that such an inquiry would not only protract the session, but also divert them from the settlement of the succession, and raise such a ferment as might be productive of tragical consequences. Alarmed at these suggestions, she resolved to prevent the examination; and gave no answer to the repeated applications made by her parliament and ministers. Mean while the Duke of Queensberry appeased his enemies in Scotland, by directing all his friends to join in the opposition.

§ XII. The Duke of Hamilton again moved, That the parliament should proceed to the limitations, and name commissioners to treat with England, previous to all other business, except an act for a land-tax of two months, necessary for the immediate subsistence of the forces. The Earl of Marchmont proposed an act to exclude all popish successors; but this was warmly opposed as unseasonable, by Hamilton and his party. A bill of supply being offered by the Lord-justice clerk, the cavaliers tacked to it great part of the act of security, to which the royal assent had been refused in the former session. Violent debates arose; so that the House was filled with rage and tumult. The national spirit of independence had been wrought up to a dangerous pitch of enthusiasm.

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The streets were crowded with people of all ranks, exclaiming against English influence; and, threatening to sacrifice as traitors to their country, all who should embrace measures that seemed to favor a foreign interest. The commissioner and his friends were confounded and appalled. Finding it impossible to stem the torrent, he, with the concurrence of the other ministers, wrote a letter to the Queen, representing the uncomfortable situation of affairs, and advising her Majesty to pass the bill, encumbered as it was with the act of security. Lord Godolphin, on whose council she chiefly relied, found himself involved in great perplexity. The Tories had devoted him to destruction. He foresaw that the Queen's concession to the Scots in an affair of such consequence would furnish his enemies with a plausible pretence to arraign the conduct of her minister: but he chose to run that risque, rather than see the army disbanded for want of a supply, and the kingdom left exposed to an invasion. He, therefore, seconded the advice of the Scottish ministers; and the Queen authorized the commissioner to pass the bill that was depending. This act provided, That in case of the Queen's dying without issue a parliament should immediately meet, and declare the successor to the crown, different from the person possessing the throne of England, unless before that period a settlement should be made in parliament of the rights and liberties of the nation, independent of English councils: by another clause, they were empowered to arm and train the subjects, so as to put them in a posture of defence. The Scottish parliament having, by a laudable

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exertion of spirit, obtained this act of security, granted the supply without further hesitation: but, not yet satisfied with this sacrifice, they engaged in debates about the conspiracy, and the proceedings of the House of Lords in England, which they termed an officious intermeddling in their concerns, and an encroachment upon the sovereignty and independency of the nation. They drew up an address to the Queen, desiring that the evidence and papers relating to the plot might be subjected to their examination in the next session. Mean while, the commissioner, dreading the further progress of such an ungovernable ferocity, prorogued the parliament to the seventh day of October. The act of security being transmitted to England, copies of it were circulated by the enemies of Godolphin, who presented it as a measure of that minister; and the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent. People openly declared, that the two kingdoms were now separated by law, so as never to be rejoined. Reports were spread, that great quantities of arms had been conveyed to Scotland, and that the natives were employed in preparations to invade England. All the blame of these transactions was imputed to Lord Godolphin, whom the Tories determined to attack, while the other party resolved to exert their whole influence for his preservation: yet, in all probability, he owed his immediate support to the success of his friend the Duke of Marlborough.

§ XIII. Nothing could be more deplorable than the situation to which the Emperor was reduced in the beginning of the season. The malecontents in

Hungary had rendered themselves formidable by their success: the Elector of Bavaria possessed all the places on the Danube, as far as Passau, and even threatened the city of Vienna, which must have been infallibly lost, had the Hungarians and Bavarians acted in concert. By the advice of Prince Eugene, the Emperor implored the assistance of her Britannic Majesty; and the Duke of Marlborough explained to her the necessity of undertaking his relief. This nobleman in the month of January had crossed the sea to Holland, and concerted a scheme with the deputies of the States-General, for the operations of the ensuing campaign. They agreed, that General Auverquerque should lie upon the defensive with a small body of troops in the Netherlands, while the main army of the allies should act upon the Rhine, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough. Such was the pretext under which this consummate general concealed another plan, which was communicated to a few only, in whose discretion he could confide. It was approved by the Pensionary and some leading men, who secured its favorable reception with the States-General, when it became necessary to impart the secret to that numerous assembly. In the meantime, the preparations were made, on pretence of carrying the war to the banks of the Moselle.

§ XIV. In the month of April, the Duke, accompanied by his brother General Churchill, Lieutenant-General Lumley, the Earl of Orkney, and other officers of distinction, embarked for Holland, where he had a long conference with a deputation of the States, concerning a proposal of sending a large

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army towards the Moselle. The deputies of Zealand opposed this measure of sending their troops to such a distance so strenuously, that the Duke was obliged to tell them, in plain terms, he had received orders to march thither with the British forces. He accordingly assembled his army at Maestricht; and on the eighth day of May began his march into Germany. The French imagined his intention was to begin the campaign with the siege of Traerbach, and penetrate into France along the Moselle. In this persuasion they sent a detachment to that river; and gave out that they intended to invest Huy, a pretence to which the Duke paid no regard. He continued his route by Bedburgh, Kerpenord, Kassecken: he visited the fortifications of Bonne, where he received certain advice, that the recruits and re-enforcements for the French army in Bavaria had joined the Elector at Villingen. He redoubled his diligence, passed the Neckar on the third of June, and halted at Ladenburgh: from thence he wrote a letter to the States-General, giving them to understand, that he had the Queen's order to march to the relief of the empire; and expressing his hope that they would approve the design, and allow their troops to share the honor of the expedition. By the return of a courier he received their approbation, and full power to command their forces. He then proceeded to Mildenheim, where he was visited by Prince Eugene; and these two great men, whose talents were congenial, immediately contracted an intimacy of friendship. Next day Prince Louis of Baden arrived in the camp at Great Hippach. He told the

Duke, his grace was come to save the empire, and to give him an opportunity of vindicating his honor, which he knew was at the last stake in the opinion of some people. The Duke replied, he was come to learn of him how to serve the empire: that they must be ignorant indeed, who did not know that the Prince of Baden, when his health permitted him, had preserved the empire, and extended its conquests.

§ XV. Those three celebrated generals agreed that the two armies should join: that the command should be alternately vested in the Duke and Prince Louis, from day to day; and that Prince Eugene should command a separate army on the Rhine. Prince Louis returned to his army on the Danube: Prince Eugene set out for Philipsburgh: the Duke of Marlborough being joined by the Imperial army under Prince Louis of Baden, at Wastertellen, prosecuted his march by Elchingen, Gingen, and Landthausen. On the first day of July he was in sight of the enemy's intrenchments at Dillingen, and encamped with his right at Amerdighem, and his left at Onderingen. Understanding that the Elector of Bavaria had detached the best part of his infantry to re-enforce the Count d'Arco, who was posted behind strong lines at Schellenberg near Donawert, he resolved to attack their intrenchments without delay. On the second day of July he advanced towards the enemy, and passed the river Wermitz: about five o'clock in the afternoon the attack was begun by the English and Dutch infantry, supported by the horse and dragoons. They were very severely handled, and even obliged

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to give way, when Prince Louis of Baden marching up, at the head of the Imperialists, to another part of the line, made a diversion in their favor. After an obstinate resistance they forced the intrenchments, and the horse entering with the infantry, fell so furiously upon the enemy, already disordered, that they were routed with great slaughter. They fled with the utmost trepidation to Donawert and the Danube, leaving six thousand men dead on the field of battle. The confederates took sixteen pieces of cannon, thirteen pair of colors, with all the tents and baggage. Yet the victory was dearly purchased; some thousands of the allies were slain in the attack, including many gallant officers, among whom were the Generals Goor and Beinheim, and Count Stirum was mortally wounded. Next day the Bavarian garrison abandoned Donawert, of which the confederates took immediate possession, while the Elector passed the Danube in his march to the river Lech, lest the victors should cut off his retreat to his own country. The confederates having crossed the Danube on several bridges of pontoons, a detachment was sent to pass the Lech, and take post in the country of the Elector, who had retired under the cannon of Augs-burgh. The garrison of Neuburgh retiring to Ingolstadt, the place was secured by the confederates; and the Count de Frize was detached with nine battalions and fifteen squadrons to invest the town of Rain. Advice arriving from Prince Eugene, that the marshals Villeroy and Tallard had passed the Rhine at Fort Kehl, with an army of five-and-forty thousand men, to succour the Elector of

Bavaria, the generals of the allies immediately detached Prince Maximilian of Hanover, with thirty squadrons of horse, as a re-enforcement to the Prince. In a few days Rain surrendered, and Aicha was taken by assault. The Emperor no sooner received a confirmation of the victory of Schellenberg, than he wrote a letter of acknowledgment to the Duke of Marlborough, and ordered Count Wratislau to intimate his intention of investing him with the title of prince of the empire, which the Duke declined accepting, until the Queen interposed her authority at the desire of Leopold.

§ XVI. The allies advanced within a league of Augsburgh, and though they found the Elector of Bavaria too securely posted under the cannon of that city, to be dislodged or attacked with any prospect of success, they encamped with Friedburgh in their centre, so as to cut off all communication between him and his dominions. The Duke of Marlborough having reduced him to this situation, proposed very advantageous terms of peace, provided he would abandon the French interest, and join the Imperialists in Italy. His subjects seeing themselves at the mercy of the allies, pressed him to comply with these offers, rather than expose his country to ruin and desolation. A negociation was begun, and he seemed ready to sign the articles, when hearing that Mareschal Tallard had passed the Black-forest, to join him with a great body of forces, he declared, that since the King of France had made such powerful efforts to support him, he thought himself obliged in honor to continue firm in his alliance. The generals of the

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allies were so exasperated at this disappointment, that they sent out detachments to ravage the country of Bavaria, as far as Munich: upwards of three hundred towns, villages, and castles were inhumanly destroyed, to the indelible disgrace of those who countenanced and conducted such barbarous practices. The Elector, shocked at these brutal proceedings, desired, in a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, that a stop might be put to acts of violence so opposite to true glory. The answer he received implied, that it was in his own power to put an end to them by a speedy accommodation. Incensed at this reply, he declared, that since they had obliged him to draw the sword, he would throw away the scabbard. The Duke and Prince Louis, finding it impracticable to attack the Elector in his strong camp, resolved to undertake the siege of Ingoldstat, and for that purpose passed the Paer near the town of Schrob-benhausen, where they encamped, with their left at Closterberg. On the fifth day of August the Elector of Bavaria marched to Biberach, where he was joined by Tallard. He resolved to pass the Danube at Lawingen, to attack Prince Eugene, who had followed the French army from the lines of Biehl, and lay encamped at Hochstadt. Next day, however, he made a motion that disappointed the enemy. Nevertheless, they persisted in their design of passing the Danube, and encamping at Blenheim. The allies resolved that Prince Louis should undertake the siege of Ingoldstadt, whilst Prince Eugene and the Duke should observe the Elector of Bavaria. Advice being received that he

had actually crossed the Danube at Lawingen, the Duke of Marlborough joined the forces of Prince Eugene at the camp of Munster on the eleventh day of August, Prince Louis having by this time marched off towards the place he intended to besiege. Next day the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene observed the posture of the enemy, who were advantageously posted on a hill near Hochstadt, their right being covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim, their left by the village of Lutzingen, and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy.

§ XVII. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the generals resolved to attack them immediately, rather than lie inactive until their forage and provision should be consumed. They were moreover stimulated to this hazardous enterprise, by an intercepted letter to the Elector of Bavaria from Mareschal Villeroy, giving him to understand, that he had received orders to ravage the country of Wirtemberg, and intercept all communication between the Rhine and the allied army. The dispositions being made for the attack, and the orders communicated to the general officers, the forces advanced into the plain on the thirteenth day of August, and were ranged in order of battle. The cannonading began about nine in the morning and continued on both sides till one in the afternoon. The French and Bavarians amounted to about sixty thousand men. Mareschal Tallard commanded on the right, and posted seven-and-twenty battalions, with twelve squadrons, in the village of Blenheim, supposing that there the allies would

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make their chief effort: their left was conducted by the Elector of Bavaria, assisted by Marfin, a French general of experience and capacity. The number of the confederates did not exceed five-and-fifty: their right was under the direction of Prince Eugene, and their left commanded by the Duke of Marlborough. At noon the action was begun by a body of English and Hessians, under Major-General Wilkes, who having passed the rivulet with difficulty, and filed off to the left in the face of the enemy, attacked the village of Blenheim with great vigor; but were repulsed after three successive attempts. Mean while the troops in the centre, and part of the right wing, passed the rivulet on planks in different places; and formed on the other side without any molestation from the enemy. At length, however, they were charged by the French horse with such impetuosity, and so terribly galled in flank by the troops posted at Blenheim, that they fell in disorder, and part of them repassed the rivulet: but a re-enforcement of dragoons coming up, the French cavalry were broke in their turn, and driven to the very hedges of the village of Blenheim. The left wing of the confederates being now completely formed, ascended the hill in a firm compacted body, charging the enemy's horse, which could no longer stand their ground, but rallied several times as they gave way. Tallard, in order to make a vigorous effort, ordered ten battalions to fill up the intervals of his cavalry. The Duke, perceiving his design, sent three battalions of the troops of Zell to sustain his horse. Nevertheless, the line was a little disordered

by the prodigious fire from the French infantry, and even obliged to recoil about sixty paces: but the confederates advancing to the charge with redoubled ardor, routed the French horse; and their battalions being thus abandoned, were cut in pieces. Tallard, having rallied his broken cavalry behind some tents that were still standing, resolved to draw off the troops he had posted in the village of Blenheim, and sent an aide-de-Camp to Marfin, who was with the Elector of Bavaria on the left, to desire he would face the confederates with some troops to the right of the village of Oberklau, so as to keep them in play, and favor the retreat of the forces from Blenheim. That officer assured him, he was so far from being in a condition to spare troops, that he could hardly maintain his ground. The fate of the day was now more than half decided. The French cavalry being vigorously attacked in flank were totally defeated. Part of them endeavoured to gain the bridge which they had thrown over the Danube between Hochstadt and Blenheim; but they were so closely pursued, that those who escaped the slaughter threw themselves into the river, where they perished. Tallard, being surrounded, was taken near a mill behind the village of Sonderen, together with the Marquis de Montperouz, general of horse, the Major-Generals de Seppeville, de Silly, de la Valiere, and many other officers of distinction. Whilst these occurrences passed on the left wing, Marfin's quarters at the village of Oberklau, in the centre, were attacked by ten battalions, under the Prince of Holstein-Beck, who passed the rivulet with undaunted

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resolution: but, before he could form his men on the other side, he was overpowered by numbers, mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. His battalions being supported by some Danish and Hanoverian cavalry, renewed the charge, and were again repulsed: at length, the Duke of Marlborough in person brought up some fresh squadrons from the body of reserve, and compelled the enemy to retire. By this time Prince Eugene had obliged the left wing of the enemy to give ground, after having surmounted a great number of difficulties, sustained a very obstinate opposition, and seen his cavalry, in which his chief strength seemed to lie, three times repulsed. The Duke of Marlborough had no sooner defeated the right wing, than he made a disposition to re-enforce the Prince, when he understood from an aide-de-camp, that his highness had no occasion for assistance; and that the Elector, with Monsieur de Marfin had abandoned Oberklau and Lutzingen. They were pursued as far as the villages of Morse-lingen and Teiffenhoven, from whence they retreated to Dillingen and Lawingen. The confederates being now masters of the field of battle, surrounded the village of Blenheim, in which, as we have already observed, seven-and-twenty battalions and twelve squadrons were posted. These troops, seeing themselves cut off from all communication with the rest of their army, and despairing of being able to force their way through the allies, capitulated about eight in the evening, laid down their arms, delivered their colors and standards, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on condition that the officers

should not be rifled. This was one of the most glorious and complete victories that ever was obtained. Ten thousand French and Bavarians were left dead on the field of battle: the greater part of thirty squadrons of horse and dragoons perished in the river Danube: thirteen thousand were made prisoners: one hundred pieces of cannon were taken, with twenty-four mortars, one hundred and twenty-nine colors, one hundred and seventy-one standards, seventeen pair of kettle-drums, three thousand six hundred tents, four-and-thirty coaches, three hundred laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, fifteen barrels and eight casks filled with silver. Of the allies, about four thousand five hundred men were killed, and about eight thousand wounded or taken. The loss of the battle was imputed to two capital errors committed by Mareschal Tallard; namely, his weakening the centre, by detaching such a number of troops to the village of Blenheim, and his suffering the confederates to pass the rivulet, and form unmolested. Certain it is, these circumstances contributed to the success of the Duke of Marlborough, who rode through the hottest of the fire with the calmest intrepidity, giving his orders with that presence of mind and deliberation which were so peculiar to his character. When he next day visited Tallard, he told that general, he was sorry such a misfortune should happen personally to one for whom he had a profound esteem. The mareschal congratulated him on having vanquished the best troops in the world; a compliment to which the Duke replied, That he thought his own the

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best troops in the world, seeing they had conquered those upon whom the Marechal had bestowed such an encomium.

§ XVIII. The victorious generals having by this decisive stroke saved the House of Austria from entire ruin, and entirely changed the face of affairs in the empire, signified their opinion to Prince Louis of Baden, that it would be for the advantage of the common cause to join all their forces, and drive the French out of Germany, rather than lose time at the siege of Ingoldstadt, which would surrender of course. This opinion was confirmed by the conduct of the French garrison at Augsburgh, who quitted that place on the sixteenth day of August. The magistrates sent a deputation, craving the protection of the Duke of Marlborough, who forthwith ordered a detachment to take possession of that important city. The Duke having sent Marechal de Tallard under a guard of dragoons to Frankfort, and disposed of the other prisoners of distinction in the adjacent places, encamped at Sefflingen, within half a league of Ulm. Here he held a conference with the Princes Eugene and Louis of Baden, in which they agreed that, as the enemy retreated towards the Rhine the confederate army should take the same route, excepting three - and - twenty battalions and some squadrons, to be left for the siege of Ulm, under General Thungen. They began their march on the twenty - sixth day of August, by different routes, to the general rendezvous at Bruchsal, near Philippsburgh. Then they resolved, that Prince Louis of Baden should undertake the siege of Landau, in order to secure the

circle of Suabia from the incursions of that garrison. Considering the consternation that prevailed all over France, nothing could be more impolitic than this measure, which gave the enemy time for recollection, and recruiting their forces. It was a proposal on which the Prince of Baden insisted with uncommon obstinacy. He was even suspected of corruption. He was jealous of the glory which the Duke of Marlborough had acquired, and such a bigoted papist, that he repined at the success of an heretical general. On the twelfth day of September he marched towards Landau with the troops destined for the siege, and the Duke of Marlborough, with Prince Eugene, encamped at Croon Weissenburgh, to cover the enterprise. By this time Ulm had surrendered to Thungen, even before the trenches were opened. Villeroy advanced with his army towards Landau, as if he had intended to attack the confederates: but retired without having made any attempt for the relief of the place, which was defended with the most obstinate valor till the twenty-third day of November, when the besiegers having lodged themselves on the counterescarps, the breaches being practicable, and the dispositions made for a general assault, the garrison capitulated upon honorable conditions. The King of the Romans had arrived in the camp, that he might have the credit of taking the place, the command of which he bestowed on the Count de Frize, who had before defended it with equal courage and ability.

§ XIX. The next enterprise which the confederates undertook, was the siege of Traerbach. The

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hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel being intrusted with the direction of the attacks, invested the castle in the beginning of November. Though it was strongly fortified, and well defended, he carried on his operations with such spirit and assiduity, that in about six weeks the garrison surrendered the place on honorable terms. In the mean time the Duke of Marlborough repaired to Berlin, where he negotiated for a re-enforcement of eight thousand Prussians, to serve under Prince Eugene in Italy during the next campaign. Thence he proceeded to the court of Hanover, where, as in all other places, he was received with particular marks of distinction. When he arrived at the Hague, he was congratulated by the States-General on his victories at Schellenberg and Blenheim, and as much considered in Holland as if he had been actually stadtholder. He had received a second letter from the Emperor, couched in the warmest terms of acknowledgment, and was declared prince of the empire. In December he embarked for England, where he found the people in a transport of joy, and was welcomed as a hero who had retrieved the glory of the nation.

§ XX. In Flanders, nothing of moment was executed, except the bombardment of Bruges and Namur by Baron Spaar, with nine thousand Dutch troops; and two attempts upon the French lines, which were actually penetrated by Auverquerque, though he was not able to maintain the footing he had gained. The Elector of Bavaria, who had retired to Brussels after his defeat, formed a scheme for surprising the Dutch general at the end of the campaign,

campaign, and assembled all his troops at Tirlemont: but the French court, apprehensive of his temerity, sent Villeroy to watch his conduct, and prevent his hazarding an engagement, except with a fair prospect of advantage. The Marechal, finding him determined to give battle at all events, represented the improbability of succeeding against an enemy so advantageously posted; and the ill consequences of a repulse: but, finding the Elector deaf to all his remonstrances, he flatly refused to march, and produced the King's order to avoid an engagement. In Italy the French met with no opposition. The Duke of Savoy, being unable to face the enemy in the field, was obliged to lie inactive. He saw the Duke de Vendome reduce Vercelli and Ivrea, and undertake the siege of Verac; while he posted his little army on the other side of the Po, at Crescentino, where he had a bridge of communication, by which he supplied the place occasionally with fresh troops and provision. The place held out five months, against all the efforts of the French general: at length, the communication being cut off, the Duke of Savoy retired to Chivas. He bore his misfortunes with great equanimity; and told the English minister, that though he was abandoned by the allies, he would never abandon himself. The Emperor had neglected Italy, that he might act with more vigor against Ragotski and the Hungarian malecontents, over whom he obtained several advantages; notwithstanding which they continued formidable, from their number, bravery, and resolution. The ministers of the allies pressed Leopold to enter into a negociation

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for a peace with those rebels ; and conferences were opened : but he was not sincerely disposed to an accommodation, and Ragotski aimed at the principality of Transylvania, which the court of Vienna would not easily relinquish. The Emperor was not a little alarmed by a revolution at the Ottoman Porte, until the new sultan dispatched a chiaus to Vienna, with an assurance that he would give no assistance to the malecontents of Hungary. In Poland, the diet being assembled by the Cardinal - Primate, Stanislaus Lesinski, Palatine of Posenania, was elected and proclaimed king, and recognized by Charles of Sweden, who still maintained his army by contributions in that country, more intent upon the ruin of Augustus than upon the preservation of his own dominions ; for he paid no regard to the progress of the Muscovites, who had ravaged Livonia, reduced Narva, and made incursions into Sweden. Augustus retreated into his Saxon dominions, which he impoverished, in order to raise a great army, with which he might return to Poland ; the Pope espoused the interest of this new convert, so far as to cite the Cardinal - Primate to appear at Rome, and give an account of the share he had in the Polish troubles. The protestants of the Cevennois, deriving courage from despair, became so troublesome to the government of France, that Louis was obliged to treat them with lenity : he sent Mareschal Villars against them with a fresh re-enforcement ; but at the same time furnished him with instructions to treat for an accommodation. This officer immediately commenced a negociation with Cavalier, the chief of the revolvers : and a formal treaty was concluded,

by which they were indulged with liberty of conscience: but these articles were very ill observed by the French ministry.

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§ XXI. In Portugal, the interest of King Charles wore a very melancholy aspect. When he arrived at Lisbon, he found no preparations made for opening the campaign. The Portuguese ministry favored the French in secret: the people were averse to heretics: the Duke of Schomberg was on ill terms with Fagel, the Dutch general: the Portuguese forces consisted of raw undisciplined peasants; and the French ambassador had bought up the best horses in the kingdom; so that the troops could not be properly mounted. The King of Portugal had promised to enter Spain with Charles by the middle of May: but he was not ready till the beginning of June, when they reached Santaren. By this time they had published their respective manifestoes; Charles displaying his title to the crown of Spain, and promising pardon to all his subjects who should in three months join his army; and the King of Portugal declaring, that his sole aim in taking up arms was to restore the liberty of the Spanish nation, oppressed by the power of France, as well as to assert the right of Charles to that monarchy. The present possessor, whom they mentioned by the name of the Duke of Anjou, had already anticipated their invasion. His general, the Duke of Berwick, entering Portugal, took the town of Segura by stratagem. The governor of Salva-terra surrendered at discretion: Cebreros was reduced without much opposition: Zebredo was abandoned by the inhabitants; and the

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town of Lhana la Viella was taken by assault. Portugal was at the same time invaded in different parts by the Marquis de Jeoffreville, Prince Tserclas de Tilly, and the Marquis de Villadarias. Two Dutch battalions were attacked and taken by the Duke of Berwick at Sodreira Formosa. Then he passed the Tagus, and joined Prince Tserclas. King Philip arriving in the army, invested Portalegre; and the garrison, including an English regiment of foot commanded by Colonel Stanhope, were made prisoners of war. The next place he besieged was Castel Davide, which met with the same fate. On the other hand, the Marquis Das Minas, in order to make a diversion, entered Spain with fifteen thousand men, took Fuente Grimaldo, in Castile, by assault, defeated a body of French and Spaniards commanded by Don Ronquillo, and made himself master of Manseinto. The weather growing excessively hot, Philip sent his troops into quarters of refreshment: and the allies followed his example. Duke Schomberg finding his advice very little regarded by the Portuguese ministry, and seeing very little prospect of success, desired leave to resign his command, which the Queen bestowed upon the Earl of Galway, who, with a reinforcement of English and Dutch troops, arrived at Lisbon on the thirtieth day of July. About the latter end of September, the two kings repaired to the camp near Almeda, resolving to invade Castile: but they found the river Agueda so well guarded by the Duke of Berwick, that they would not attempt a passage. They, therefore, retired into the territories of Portugal, and the army was put into winter-quarters. The Spaniards were now so weakened, by

detachments sent with the Marquis de Villadarias towards Gibraltar, that the Duke of Berwick could not execute any scheme of importance during the remaining part of the campaign.

§ XXII. The arms of England were not less fortunate by sea than they had been upon the Danube. Sir George Rook having landed King Charles at Lisbon, sent a squadron to cruise off Cape Spartel, under the command of Rear Admiral Dilkes, who, on the twelfth of March, engaged and took three Spanish ships of war, bound from St. Sebastian's to Cadiz. Rook received orders from the Queen to sail to the relief of Nice and Villa Franca, which were threatened with a siege by the Duke de Vendome: at the same time he was pressed by King Charles to execute a scheme upon Barcelona, projected by the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, who declared his opinion, that the Catalonians would declare for the house of Austria, as soon as they should be assured of proper support and protection. The ministry of England understanding that the French were employed in equipping a strong squadron at Brest, and judging it was destined to act in the Mediterranean, sent out Sir Cloudesly Shovel with a considerable fleet, to watch the motions of the Brest-squadron; and he was provided with instructions how to act, in case it should be sailed to the Mediterranean. Mean while, Sir George Rook, in compliance with the entreaties of King Charles, sailed with the transports under his convoy to Barcelona, and on the eighteenth of May appeared before the city. Next day, the troops were landed by the Prince of Hesse, to the number

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of two thousand, and the Dutch ketches bombarded the place: but by this time the governor had secured the chiefs of the Austrian party; and the people exhibiting no marks of attachment to King Charles, the Prince re-embarked his soldiers, from an apprehension of their being attacked and overpowered by superior numbers. On the sixteenth day of June Sir George Rook, being joined by Sir Cloudefly Shovel, resolved to proceed up the Mediterranean in quest of the French fleet, which had sailed thither from Brest, and which Rook had actually discovered, in the preceding month, on their voyage to Toulon. On the seventeenth day of July the Admiral called a council of war in the road of Tetuan, when they resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, which was but slenderly provided with a garriſon. Thither they ſailed, and on the twenty-first day of the month the Prince of Heſſe landed on the iſthmus with eighteen hundred marines: then he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, and was answered, that the place would be defended to the laſt extremity. Next day the Admiral gave orders for cannonading the town: perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the ſouth mole-head, he commanded Captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and aſſault that quarter. The Captains Hicks and Jumper, who happened to be neareſt the mole, immediately manned their pinnaces, and entered the fortifications ſword in hand. The Spaniards ſprung a mine, by which two lieutenants, and about a hundred men, were killed or wounded. Nevertheleſs, the two captains took poſſeſſion of a platform, and

kept their ground until they were sustained by Captain Whitaker, and the rest of the seamen, who took by storm a redoubt between the mole and the town. Then the governor capitulated; and the Prince of Hesse entered the place, amazed at the success of this attempt, considering the strength of the fortifications, which might have been defended by fifty men against a numerous army.

§ XXIII. A sufficient garrison being left with his Highness, the Admiral returned to Tetuan, to take in wood and water; and when he sailed, on the ninth day of August, he descried the French fleet, to which he gave chase with all the sail he could spread. On the thirteenth he came up with it, as it lay in a line off Malaga ready to receive him, to the number of two-and-fifty great ships, and four-and-twenty galleys, under the command of the Count de Thoulouse, high-admiral of France, with the inferior flags of the white and blue divisions. The English fleet consisted of three-and-fifty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates; but they were inferior to the French in number of guns and men, as well as in weight of metal, and altogether unprovided of gallies, from which the enemy reaped great advantage during the engagement. A little after ten in the morning the battle began, with equal fury on both sides, and continued to rage with doubtful success till two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way: nevertheless, the fight was maintained till night, when the enemy bore away to leeward. The wind shifting before morning, the French gained the weathergage; but they made no use of this advantage; for two successive days the English admiral

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endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the Count de Thoulouse declined, and at last he disappeared. The loss was pretty equal on both sides, though not a single ship was taken or destroyed by either; but the honor of the day certainly remained with the English. Over and above the disadvantages we have enumerated, the bottoms of the British fleet were foul, and several large ships had expended all their shot long before the battle ceased: yet the enemy were so roughly handled, that they did not venture another engagement during the whole war. The French King, in order to raise the drooping spirits of his people, claimed the victory, and published an account of the action, which, at this distance of time, plainly proves that he was reduced to the mean shift of imposing upon his subjects, by false and partial representations. Among other exaggerations in this detail, we find mention made of mischief done to French ships by English bombs; though nothing is more certain than that there was not one bomb-vessel in the combined fleet. The French academy, actuated by a servile spirit of adulation, caused a medal to be struck on the occasion, which, instead of perpetuating the glory of their prince, served only to transmit their own shame to posterity. After the battle, Sir George Rook sailed to Gibraltar to refit, and leaving a squadron with Sir John Leake, set sail for England on the twenty-fourth day of August. He arrived in September, and was received by the ministry, and the people in general, with those marks of esteem and veneration which were due to his long services and signal success; but he was still persecuted with a spirit of envy and

detracton. Philip King of Spain, alarmed at the reduction of Gibraltar, sent the Marquis de Villadarias with an army to retake it: The siege lasted four months, during which the Prince of Hesse exhibited many shining proofs of courage and ability. The place was supplied with men and provisions by convoys from Lisbon, until Monsieur de Pointis put a stop to that communication, by entering the bay with a strong squadron: but he was obliged to retire at the approach of Sir John Leake and Admiral Vanderdussen; and the Marquis de Villadarias, having made little or no progress on land, thought proper to abandon the enterprize.

§ XXIV. The parliament of England meeting on the twenty-ninth day of October, the Queen, in her speech, observed that the great and remarkable success with which God had blessed her arms produced unanimous joy and satisfaction through all parts of the kingdom; and that a timely improvement of the present advantages would enable her to procure a lasting foundation of security for England, as well as a firm support for the liberty of Europe. She declared her intention was to be kind and indulgent to all her subjects. She expressed her hope that they would do nothing to endanger the loss of this opportunity; and that there would be no contention among them, but an emulation to promote the public welfare. Congratulatory addresses were voted and presented by both Houses. They were equal in their professions of duty and affection to the Queen; but the addresses imbibed a very different color from the different factions by which the two Houses were influenced. The Lords congratulated her on the great and

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glorious success of her arms under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, without deigning to mention Sir George Rook, who had defeated the French navy at sea, and added the important fortress of Gibraltar to the British conquests. On the other hand, the Commons affected to mention the battle of Blenheim, and Rook's naval victory, as events of equal glory and importance. However they might be warped by prejudice against individuals, they did not suffer the war to languish for want of supplies. Having taken into consideration the services of the army and navy, they voted that the Queen should be desired to bestow her bounty on the seamen and land-forces who had behaved themselves so gallantly. Then they deliberated upon the different articles of national expense, and granted four millions six hundred, and seventy thousand, nine hundred, and thirty-one pounds, for the occasions of the ensuing year, to be raised by a land-tax, by the sale of annuities, and other expedients. These measures were taken with such expedition, that the land-tax received the royal assent on the ninth day of December; when the Queen, in a short speech, thanked the Commons for their dispatch, which she considered as a sure pledge of their affection.

§ XXV. The high-church party took this occasion to promote the bill against occasional conformity, which was revived and brought into the House on a new model, by Mr. William Bromley, who moved that it might be tacked to the land-tax-bill, and sent up to the Lords for their concurrence. The court no longer espoused this measure; and the violent party

was weakened by defection. After a warm and tedious debate, the tack was rejected by a great majority. The bill, however, passed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords on the fourteenth day of December, when it would hardly have excited a debate, had not the Queen been present, and desirous of hearing what could be said on both sides of the question. For the information and satisfaction of her Majesty the subject was again discussed, and all the arguments being repeated, the bill was rejected by a majority of one-and-twenty voices. The next subject on which the House of Lords employed their attention, was the late conduct of the Scottish parliament. The Lord Haversham, in a set speech, observed, that the settlement of the succession in Scotland had been postponed, partly because the ministry for that kingdom were weak and divided; partly from a received opinion that the succession was never sincerely and cordially intended by those who managed the affairs of Scotland in the cabinet-council. He expatiated on the bad consequences that might attend the act of security, which he styled a bill of exclusion: and particularly mentioned that clause by which the heritors and boroughs were ordained to exercise their fencible men every month. He said the nobility and gentry of Scotland were as learned and brave as any nation in Europe, and generally discontented: that the common people were very numerous, very stout, and very poor; and he asked who was the man that could tell what such a multitude, so armed, and so disciplined, might do under such leaders, could opportunities suit their intention? He

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recommended these circumstances to the consideration of the House, and concluded with these words of Lord Bacon, "Let men beware how they neglect
 " or suffer matter of troubles to be prepared: for no
 " man can forbid the sparks that may set all on fire."
 The Lords resolved to consider these subjects on the twenty-ninth day of November, when the Queen repaired to the House of Peers to hear the debates, and by her presence moderate the heat of both parties. The Earl of Nottingham reflected so severely on the memory of King William, that he would have been sent to the Tower, had not the Lords declined any such motion out of respect to her Majesty. After much declamation on the Scottish act of security, the grand committee of the Peers by the advice of Lord Wharton, resolved, That the Queen should be enabled, by act of parliament on the part of England, to name commissioners to treat about an union with Scotland, provided that the parliament of Scotland should first appoint commissioners on their part for the same purpose: That no Scotsmen should enjoy the privileges of Englishmen, except such as were settled in England, Ireland, and the plantations, and such as were or might be in the sea or land-service, until an union could be effected, or the succession settled as in England: That the traffic by cattle from Scotland to England should be prevented: That the Lord-Admiral should issue orders for taking such vessels as should be found trading from Scotland to France, or to the ports of any of her Majesty's enemies; and that care should be taken to prevent the exportation of English wool in Scotland. On these resolutions a bill was formed for an entire

union, and passed the House on the twentieth day of December. The Lords presented an address to the Queen, representing that they had duly weighed the dangerous and pernicious effects that were likely to be produced by divers acts of parliament lately passed in Scotland: That they were of opinion the safety of the kingdom required that speedy and effectual orders should be given to put Newcastle in a posture of defence, to secure the port of Tinmouth, and repair the fortifications of Hull and Carlisle. They likewise advised her Majesty to give directions for disciplining the militia of the four northern counties; for providing them with arms and ammunition; for maintaining a competent number of regular troops on the northern borders of England, as well as in the north of Ireland; and for putting the laws in execution against papists. The Queen promised that a survey should be made of the places they had mentioned, and laid before the parliament; and that she would give the necessary directions upon the other articles of the address. The Commons seemed to concur with the Lords in their sentiments of the Scottish act of security. They resolved, That a bill should be brought in for the effectual securing the kingdom of England from the apparent dangers that might arise from several acts lately passed in the parliament of Scotland; and this was formed on nearly the same resolutions which had been taken in the Upper-House. The bill sent down by the Lords was thrice read, and ordered to lie upon the table: but they passed their own, to take effect at Christmas, provided before that time the Scots should not settle the succession. When it was offered

B O O K to the Lords, they passed it without any amendment, contrary to the expectation, and even to the hope, of some members who were no friends to the House of Hanover, and firmly believed the Lords would have treated this bill with the same contempt which had been manifested for that which they had sent down to the Commons.

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§ XXVI. The Duke of Marlborough, at his first appearance in the House after his return to England, was honored with a very extraordinary eulogium, pronounced by the Lord-Keeper, in the name of the Peers of England; and a compliment of the same nature was presented to him by a committee of the House of Commons. Doctor Delaune, vice-chancellor of Oxford, accompanied by the principal members of the university, attended the Queen with an address of congratulation upon the success of her arms in Germany, under the admirable conduct and invincible courage of the Duke of Marlborough; and at sea, under the most brave and faithful Admiral Sir George Rook. He received a civil answer from her Majesty, though now she took umbrage at Rook's being raised upon a level with the Duke of Marlborough, whose great victories had captivated her admiration, and whose wife had alienated her affection from the Tories. The Commons perceiving how high he stood in her Majesty's esteem, and having been properly tutored for the purpose, took into consideration the great services of the Duke; and, in an address, besought her Majesty to consider some proper means to perpetuate the memory of such noble actions. In a few days she gave

them to understand by a message, that she was inclined to grant the interest of the crown in the honor and manor of Woodstock and hundred of Wooton, to the Duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and that as the lieutenancy and rangerhip of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manors and hundreds, were granted for two lives, she wished that encumbrance could be removed. A bill was immediately brought in, enabling the Queen to bestow these honors and manors on the Duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and the Queen was desired to advance the money for clearing the encumbrances. She not only complied with this address, but likewise ordered the comptroller of her works to build, in Woodstock-park, a magnificent palace for the Duke, upon a plan much more solid than beautiful. By this time Sir George Rook was laid aside, and the command of the fleet bestowed upon Sir Cloudefly Shovel, now declared rear-admiral of England. Mareschal de Tallard, with the other French generals taken at Hochstadt, arrived on the sixteenth of December in the River Thames, and were immediately conveyed to Nottingham and Lichfield, attended by a detachment of the royal regiment of horse-guards. They were treated with great respect, and allowed the privilege of riding ten miles around the places of their confinement.

§ XXVII. While the House of Commons, in two successive addresses, thanked the Queen for the treaty which the Duke of Marlborough had concluded with Prussia, concerning the troops to be sent to the Duke of Savoy; and desired she would use her interest with the allies, that they might next year furnish

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their complete proportions of men by sea and land; the Lords examined into all the proceedings at sea, and all the instructions of the Admiralty: and presented an address to the Queen, explaining all the different articles of mismanagement. She promised to consider them particularly, and give such directions upon them as might be most for the advantage of the public service. The remaining part of the session was consumed in disputes and altercations between the two Houses on the subject of the Aylesbury constables, who were sued by five other inhabitants for having denied them the right of voting at the election. These five persons were committed to Newgate by order of the House of Commons. They moved for a habeas-corpus in the King's-Bench; but the court would take no cognizance of the affair. Two of the prisoners petitioned the Queen that their case might be brought before her Majesty in parliament. The Commons, in an address, besought the Queen to refuse granting a writ of error in this case, which would tend to the overthrowing the undoubted rights and privileges of the Commons of England. She assured them she would not do any thing to give them just cause of complaint; but this matter relating to the course of judicial proceedings, being of the highest importance, she thought it necessary to weigh and consider very carefully what might be proper for her to do in a thing of so great concern. They voted all the lawyers who had pleaded on the return of the habeas-corpus in behalf of the prisoners guilty of a breach of privilege, and ordered them to be taken into custody. They likewise

likewise ordered the prisoners to be removed from Newgate into the custody of their serjeant at arms, lest they should have been discharged by the Queen's granting writs of error. The prisoners, finding themselves at the mercy of the exasperated Commons, petitioned the Lords for relief. The Upper House passed six different resolutions against the conduct of the Commons, as being an obstruction to justice, and contrary to magna charta. The Lower House demanded a conference, in which they insisted upon the sole right of determining elections: they affirmed, that they only could judge who had a right of voting; and that they were judges of their own privileges, in which the Lords could not intermeddle.

§ XXVIII. The Upper House demanded a free conference, which proved ineffectual. New resolutions were taken by the Commons, diametrically opposite to those of the Peers, who, on the other hand, attended the Queen with a long representation of all the particulars relating to this affair. They affirmed that the proceedings of the House of Commons against the Aylesbury men were wholly new and unprecedented: that it was the birthright of every Englishman, who apprehended himself injured, to seek for redress in her Majesty's courts of justice: that if any power could control this right, and prescribe when he should, and when he should not, be allowed the benefit of the laws, he ceased to be a freeman, and his liberty and property were precarious. They requested, therefore, that no consideration whatever should prevail with her Majesty to suffer an obstruction to the known course of justice; but that she

B O O K would be pleased to give effectual orders for the immediate issuing of the writs of error. The Queen assured them that she should have complied with their request; but, finding an absolute necessity for putting an immediate end to this session, she knew there could be no further proceedings on that matter. On that very day, which was the fourteenth of March, she went to the House of Lords, and passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent. Then she thanked the parliament for having dispatched the public business: she warned them to avoid the fatal effects of animosity and dissension; and ordered the Lord Keeper to prorogue them to Thursday the first of May: but on the fifth of April they were dissolved by proclamation, and another was published for calling a new parliament². The Queen, accompanied by the Prince of Denmark, made an excursion to Newmarket, and afterwards dined by invitation with the university of Cambridge, where she conferred the honor of knighthood upon Dr. Ellis the vice-chancellor, upon James Montague counsel for the university, and upon the celebrated Isaac Newton mathematical professor. The two Houses of Convocation still continued at variance. The Lower House penned petulant representations; and the Archbishop answered them by verbal reprehension and admonition. The Tory-interest was now in the wane. The Duke of Buckinghamshire was deprived of the privy-seal, and that office conferred upon the Duke of Newcastle, a

² Burnet. Hist. of Europe. Tindal. Hist. of the D. of Marlborough. Lockhart. Burchet. Lives of the Admirals. Quincy. Feuquieres. Voltaire.

nobleman of powerful influence with the Whig-party. C H A P.
 The Earl of Montague was created Marquis of VIII.
 Mounthermer and Duke of Montague: the Earl of 1704.
 Peterborough and Lord Cholmondely were chosen of
 the privy - council; and Lord Cutts was sent to com-
 mand the troops in Ireland, under the Duke of
 Ormond.

§ XXIX. The ministry of Scotland was now en-
 tirely changed, The Marquis of Tweedale and John-
 ston, having been found unequal to the undertaking,
 were dismissed. The Duke of Queensberry resumed
 the management of affairs in that kingdom, under the
 title of lord privy - seal; and the office of commissioner
 was conferred upon the young Duke of Argyle, who
 succeeded to his father's influence among the presby-
 terians. He was a nobleman possessed of good natural
 talents which had not been neglected; candid, open,
 and sincere, brave, passionate and aspiring: had he
 been endued with a greater share of liberality, his
 character would have been truly heroic. At this
 juncture he was instructed to procure an act of the
 Scottish parliament settling the protestant succession;
 or to set on foot a treaty for the union of the two king-
 doms. At the opening of the session in June the mem-
 bers were divided into three parties, namely, the
 Cavaliers or Jacobites, the Revolutioners, the squa-
 drone volante, or flying squadron, headed by the Mar-
 quis of Tweedale, who disclaimed the other two fac-
 tions, and pretended to act from the dictates of con-
 science alone. The parliament was adjourned to the
 third day of July, when her Majesty's letter was
 read, earnestly recommending the settlement of the

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succession in the protestant line, and an act for a commission to treat of an union between the two kingdoms. The Marquis of Annandale proposed that the parliament should proceed on the limitations and conditions of government: that a committee should be appointed to consider the condition of the coin and the commerce of the nation. The Earl of Mar moved, that the House would, preferably to all other business, consider the means for engaging in a treaty with England. After a long debate they resolved to proceed on the coin and the commerce. Schemes for supplying the nation with money by a paper-credit were presented by Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne and John Law; but rejected. The House resolved, That any kind of paper-credit, by the circulation of bills, was an improper expedient; and appointed a council to put the laws relating to trade in execution. The Duke of Hamilton proposed that the parliament should not proceed to the nomination of a successor, until the treaty with England should be discussed, and the limitations settled. This proposal being approved, a draft of an answer to her Majesty's letter was presented by the Marquis of Tweedale. Two different forms of an act for a treaty with England were offered by the Earl of Mar and the Marquis of Lothian: others were produced concerning the election of officers of state, and the regulation of commerce.

§ XXX. The chief aim of the cavaliers was to obstruct the settlement of the succession; and with that view they pressed the project of limitations, to which they knew the court would never assent. A motion being made, to grant the first reading to an

act of commission for a treaty with England, the Duke of Hamilton insisted on the limitations, and a vote being stated in these terms, "Proceed to consider the act for a treaty or limitation," the latter was carried in favor of the cavaliers. On the twenty-second day of August an act for this purpose was approved; and next day an act for a triennial parliament, which the courtiers were enabled to defeat. They likewise passed an act, ordaining, That the Scottish ambassadors representing Scotland should be present when the sovereign might have occasion to treat with foreign princes and states, and be accountable to the parliament of Scotland. Fletcher of Saltoun, presented a scheme of limitations that favoured strong of republican principles. He afterwards enlarged upon every article, endeavouring to prove that they were absolutely necessary to prevent the consequences of English influence; to enable the nation to defend its rights and liberties; to deter ministers of state from giving bad advice to their sovereign; to preserve the courts of judicature from corruption, and screen the people from tyranny and oppression. The Earl of Stair having argued against these limitations, Fletcher replied, "It was no wonder he opposed the scheme; for, had such an act subsisted, his Lordship would have been hanged for the bad council he had given to King James; for the concern he had in the massacre of Glencoe; and for his conduct since the Revolution." The next subject on which the parliament deliberated was the conspiracy. A motion being made that the House might know what answer the Queen had returned to their address in the last

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session, the Chancellor delivered to the Clerk-Register the papers relating to the plot, that they might be perused by the members; but these being copies, and the evidences remaining at London, no further progress was made in the affair. Yet the Duke of Athol, in a distinct narrative of the pretended conspiracy, boldly accused the Duke of Queensberry of having endeavoured to mislead the Queen by false insinuations against her good subjects. When the act for a treaty of union fell under consideration, a draft for that purpose, presented by the Earl of Mar, was compared with the English act, importing, that the Queen should name and appoint not only the commissioners for England, but likewise those for Scotland. Fletcher did not fail to inveigh against the imperious conduct of the English parliament in this affair. He exhorted the House to resent such treatment, and offered the draft of an address to her Majesty on the subject; but this the House rejected. Duke Hamilton proposed that a clause might be added to the act, importing, That the union should no way derogate from any fundamental laws, ancient privileges, offices, rights, liberties, and dignities of the Scottish nation. This occasioned a long debate; and, the question being put, was carried in the negative. Another clause was proposed, that the Scottish commissioners should not begin to treat until the English parliament should have rescinded their clause, enacting, That the subjects of Scotland should be adjudged and taken as aliens after the twenty-fifth day of December. The courtiers, considering the temper of the House, would not venture to oppose this motion directly,

but proposed that the clause should be formed into a separate act; and the expedient was approved. Though the Duke of Athol entered a vigorous protest, to which the greater part of the cavaliers, and all the squadrons adhered, comprehending four-and-twenty peers, seven-and-thirty barons, and eighteen boroughs, the act for the treaty of union was, after much altercation, finished, empowering commissioners to meet and treat of an union; but restraining them from treating of any alterations of the church-government as by law established. While this important subject was under consideration, the Duke of Hamilton, to the amazement of his whole party, moved that the nomination of the commissioners should be left to the Queen. Fourteen or fifteen of the cavaliers ran out of the House in a transport of indignation, exclaiming, that they were deserted and basely betrayed by the Duke of Hamilton. A very hot debate ensued, in the course of which the Duke was severely handled by those whom he had hitherto conducted: but, at length, the question being put, Whether the nomination should be left to the Queen or to the parliament? the Duke's motion was approved by a very small majority. He afterwards excused himself for his defection, by saying, he saw it was in vain to contend; and that, since the court had acquired a great majority, he thought he might be allowed to pay that compliment to his sovereign. He was desirous of being in the commission, and the Duke of Argyle promised he should be nominated. The Queen refusing to honor him with that mark of distinction, Argyle would no suffer himself to be

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named, and threatened to oppose the union : but means were found to appease his resentment. Two drafts of an address being presented by the Earl of Sutherland, and Fletcher of Saltoun, beseeching her Majesty to use her endeavours with the parliament of England, to rescind the part of their act which declared the subjects of Scotland aliens ; and an overture of a bill being offered, ordaining that the Scottish commissioners should not enter upon the treaty of union until that clause should be repealed ; the courtiers moved, that the parliament should proceed by way of order to their commissioners, and by address to her Majesty. After some debate, the House assenting to this proposal, the order and address were drawn up and approved. The great and weighty affair of the treaty being at length happily transacted, though not without a protest by Athol and his adherents, the parliament granted a supply of fifty thousand pounds, and the House was adjourned to the twentieth day of December : then the Queen declared the Earl of Mar secretary of state, in the room of the Marquis of Annandale, who was appointed lord-president of the council.

§ XXXI. In Ireland the parliament met at Dublin on the fifth day of March, and voted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the support of the necessary branches of the establishment. A dispute arose between the Commons and the Lower House of Convocation, relating to the tithes of hemp and flax, ascertained in a clause of a bill for the better improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures of the kingdom. The Lower House of Convocation presented

a memorial against this clause, as prejudicial to the rights and properties of the clergy. The Commons voted the person who brought it guilty of a breach of privilege; and ordered him to be taken into custody. Then they resolved, That the Convocation were guilty of a contempt and breach of the privilege of that House. The Convocation presuming to justify their memorial, the Commons voted, That all matters relating to it should be rased out of the journals and books of Convocation. The Duke of Ormond, dreading the consequence of such heats, adjourned the parliament to the first day of May, when the Houses meeting again, came to some resolutions that reflected obliquely on the Convocation, as enemies to her Majesty's government and the protestant succession. The clergy, in order to acquit themselves of all suspicion, resolved in their turn, That the church and nation had been happily delivered from popery and tyranny by King William at the Revolution: That the continuance of these blessings were due (under God) to the auspicious reign and happy government of her Majesty Queen Anne: That the future security and preservation of the church and nation depended wholly (under God) on the succession of the crown as settled by law in the protestant line: That if any clergyman should by word or writing declare any thing in opposition to these resolutions, they should look upon him as a sower of divisions among the protestants, and an enemy to the constitution. They levelled another resolution against the presbyterians, importing, That to teach or preach against the doctrine, government, rites, or ceremonies of

B O O K the church, or to maintain schools or seminaries for
I. the education of youth, in principles contrary to those
1705. of the established church, was a contempt of the ecclesiastical laws of the kingdom; of pernicious consequence; and served only to continue and widen the unhappy schisms and divisions in the nation. In June the parliament was prorogued to the same month of the following year: then the Duke of Ormond embarked for England, leaving the administration in the hands of Sir Richard Cox, lord-chancellor, and the Lord Cutts, commander in chief of the Queen's forces, who were appointed lords-justices during the Duke's absence.

§ XXXII. During these transactions in Great-Britain and Ireland, the allies had not been remiss in their preparations for the ensuing campaign. The Duke of Marlborough had fixed upon the Moselle for the scene of action; and magazines of all sorts were formed at Triers. On the thirteenth day of March the Duke embarked for Holland, where he prevailed upon the States-General to contribute their troops for the execution of his project. Having concerted with the deputies of the States and the Dutch generals the necessary measures for opening the campaign, he set out for Maestricht, in order to assemble his army. On the fifth day of May the Emperor Leopold died at Vienna, and was succeeded on the Imperial throne by his eldest son Joseph King of the Romans, a prince who resembled his father in meekness of disposition, narrowness of intellect, and bigotry to the Romish religion. On the fifteenth of June the English troops passed the Maese, and continued their march towards

the Moselle, under the command of General Churchill; and the Duke set out for Creutznach, to confer with Prince Louis of Baden, who excused himself on pretence of being much indisposed. Marlborough visited him at Rastadt, where in a conference they resolved that a sufficient number of German troops should be left for the security of the lines of Lauterburgh and Stelhoffen, under the command of General Thungen; and that Prince Louis of Baden should march with a large detachment towards the Saar, to act in concert with the Duke of Marlborough. The confederate army passed the Moselle and the Saar in the beginning of June, and encamped at Elft in sight of the enemy, who retired with great precipitation, and intrenched themselves in the neighbourhood of Coningsmacheren. The Duke's design was to besiege Saar-Louis; but Prince Louis failed in the performance of his engagement: he feigned himself sick, and repaired to the bath at Schlangenbade, leaving the small number of Imperial troops he had conducted as far as Creutznach, under the command of the Count de Frize. He was suspected of treachery; but probably acted from envy of the Duke's military reputation³.

§ XXXIII. While this nobleman sustained such a mortifying disappointment on the Moselle, the

³ The Duke of Marlborough, finding himself obliged to retreat, sent a note with a trumpeter to Villars, containing an apology for decamping. — "Do me the justice (said he) to believe that my retreat is entirely owing to the failure of the Prince of Baden; but that my esteem for you is still greater than my resentment of his conduct."

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French did not fail to make advantage of their superiority in the Netherlands, where General d'Auverquerque was obliged to stand on the defensive. They invested Huy, and carried on their operations so vigorously, that in a few days the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war: then Villeroy undertook the reduction of Liege, and actually began his works before the citadel. Marlborough was no sooner informed of the enemy's progress than he marched to Triers, where, in a council, it was resolved that the army should return to the Netherlands. The troops were in motion on the nineteenth of June, and marched with such expedition, that they passed the Maese on the first day of July. Villeroy having received advice of the Duke's approach, abandoned his enterprize, and retired to Tongeren, from whence he retreated within his lines, that reached from Marche aux Dames on the Meuse, along the Meuse, as far as Lenuive. Marlborough having joined d'Auverquerque, sent General Scholten with a detachment to invest Huy; and in a few days the garrison surrendered at discretion. The English general resolving to strike some stroke of importance that should atone for his disappointment on the Moselle, sent General Hompesch to the States, with a proposal for attacking the French lines; and obtained their permission to do whatever he should think proper for the good of the common cause. Then he explained the scheme in two successive councils of war, by which, at length, it was approved and resolved upon, though some Dutch generals declared themselves against the undertaking. The enemy were

posted along the lines, amounting to one hundred battalions and one hundred and forty-six squadrons. The allied army did not much exceed that number. In order to divide them, d'Auverquerque made a false motion and passed the Mehaigne, as if he had intended to attack the lines about Messelin. The stratagem succeeded. The French weakened the other parts by strengthening that which was on the side of the Gerbise towards Namur. The Duke of Marlborough having made the disposition, the army began to march in the night between the seventeenth and eighteenth of July, in order to force a passage of the French lines at Heylesem, the castle of Wauge, and the villages of Wauge, Neerhespen, and Oostmalen. These posts were taken with very little difficulty: but, before the infantry could come up, the enemy advanced with fifty squadrons and twenty battalions, and began to fire from eight pieces of cannon with triple barrels, which did considerable execution. The Duke perceiving that they were continually re-enforced from the other parts of the lines, ordered the horse to charge their cavalry, which were soon broken and routed: but rallying behind their infantry, interlined with foot, and joined by fresh squadrons, they advanced again towards the allies, who were now sustained by their infantry, and moved forwards to renew the charge. After a warm, though short engagement, the enemy's horse were defeated with great slaughter. The infantry, seeing themselves abandoned in the plain, retreated in great disorder, between the villages of Heylesem and Golsteven, where they were joined by the rest of their army, and formed again

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in order of battle. Mean while the Duke of Marlborough ordered all his troops to enter the lines : and extended his right towards the Great Geete before Tirlemont, where the enemy had left the battalion of Montluc, which surrendered at discretion. In this action the confederates took the Marquis d'Alegre and the Count de Horne, lieutenant generals, one major-general, two brigadier generals, with many other officers, and a great number of common soldiers; a large heap of standards, four colors, one pair of kettle-drums, and ten pieces of cannon. In the action, as the Duke of Marlborough advanced to the charge at the head of several squadrons, a Bavarian officer rode up to attack him sword in hand; but in raising himself on his stirrups to strike with the greater advantage, he fell from his horse, and was immediately slain.

§ XXXIV. The body of troops commanded by Monsieur d'Alegre being thus defeated with little or no loss to the confederates, the Elector of Bavaria and the Mareschal de Villeroy passed the Great Geete and the Deule, with great expedition, and took possession of the strong camp at Parck, their left extending to Roofelaer, and their right to Winefelen against the height of Louvain. Next day the Duke of Marlborough marching through the plain of Parck, took twelve hundred prisoners, who could not keep pace with the rest of the enemy's forces; and in the evening he encamped with the right at the abbey of Vliersbeck, and the left before Bierbeck, under the cannon of Louvain. He detached Lieutenant-General Henkelum, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and Count

Oxenstiern, with a considerable body of forces, to attack some posts on the Deule, which were slenderly guarded. Their advanced guard accordingly passed the river, and repulsed the enemy: but, for want of timely support, they were obliged to pass it and retire. On the third of August Baron Spaar, with a body of Dutch troops, marched to Raboth on the canal of Bruges, forced the French lines at Lovendegen, and took four forts by which they were defended; but receiving advice that the enemy were on their march towards him, he retired to Mildegem, and carried with him several hostages, as security for the payment of the contributions he had raised. On the fifteenth the Duke moved from Mildert to Corbais; next day continued his march to Genap, from whence he advanced to Fischermont. On the seventeenth General d'Auverquerque took the post of Waterloo; and next day the confederate army, was drawn up in order of battle before the enemy, who extended from Overysche, near the wood of Soignies, to Neerysche, with the little river Ysche in their front, so as to cover Brussels and Louvain. The Duke of Marlborough proposed to attack them immediately before they should recollect themselves from their consternation; and d'Auverquerque approved of the design: but it was opposed by General Schlangenburg, and other Dutch officers, who represented it in such a light to the deputies of the States, that they refused to concur in the execution. The Duke being obliged to relinquish the scheme, wrote an expostulatory letter to the States-General, complaining of their having withdrawn that confidence which they had reposed

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in him while he acted in Germany. This letter being published at the Hague, excited murmurs among the people; and the English nation were incensed at the presumption of the Deputies, who wrote several letters in their own justification to the States-General; but these had no effect upon the populace, by whom the Duke was respected even to a degree of adoration. The States being apprized of the resentment that prevailed over all England, and that the Earl of Pembroke, lord-president of the council, was appointed as envoy extraordinary to Holland, with instructions to demand satisfaction, thought proper to anticipate his journey, by making submissions to the Duke, and removing Schlangenburgh from his command. The confederate army returned to Corbais, from whence it marched to Perwitz, where it encamped. The little town of Sout-Leeuwe, situated in the middle of a morass, and constituting the chief defence of the enemy's lines, being taken by a detachment under the command of Lieutenant-General Dedem, the Duke ordered the lines from this place to Wasseigne to be levelled, and the town of Tirlemont to be dismantled; then passing the Demer, he encamped on the nineteenth day of September at Aerschot. About the latter end of the month he marched to Heventhals: from hence the Duke repaired to the Hague, where he had several conferences with the Pensionary. In a few days he returned to the army, which decamping from Heventhals, marched to Clamphout. On the twenty-fourth day of October the Count de Noyelles invested Santvliet, which surrendered before the end of the month.

§ XXXV.

§ XXXV. At this period the Duke, in consequence of pressing letters from the Emperor, set out for Vienna, in order to concert the operations of the ensuing campaign, and other measures of importance, in which the concerns of the allies were interested. In his way he was magnificently entertained by the Elector Palatine, and him of Triers, and complimented by the magistracy of Francfort, where he conferred with Prince Louis of Baden. On the twelfth of November he arrived at Vienna, where he was treated with the highest marks of distinction and cordial friendship by their Imperial majesties. His son-in-law, the Earl of Sunderland, had been sent thither as envoy extraordinary; and now they conferred together with the Emperor and his ministers. They resolved to maintain the war with redoubled vigor. The treaties were renewed, and provision made for the security of the Duke of Savoy. The Emperor, in consideration of the Duke's signal service to the house of Austria, presented him with a grant of the lordship of Mindelheim in Suabia, which was now erected into a principality of the Roman empire. In his return with the Earl of Sunderland he visited the courts of Berlin and Hanover, where he was received with that extraordinary respect which was due to his character; and arrived at the Hague on the fourteenth day of December. There he settled the operations of the next campaign with the States-General, who consented to join England in maintaining an additional body of ten thousand men, as a re-enforcement to the army of Prince Eugene in Italy. While the allies were engaged in the siege of Santvliet, the

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Electors of Bavaria sent a detachment, under the command of Don Marcello de Grimaldi, to invest Diest, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war.

§ XXXVI. On the Upper Rhine Marschal Villars besieged and took Homburgh, and passed the Rhine at Strasburgh on the sixth day of August. Prince Louis of Baden arriving in the camp of the Imperialists at Stolhoffen, not only obliged him to retire, but having passed the river, forced the French lines at Hagenau: then he reduced Drusenheim and Hagenau, but attempted no enterprise equal to the number of his army, although the Emperor had expostulated with him severely on his conduct; and he had now a fair opportunity of emulating the glory of Marlborough, upon whom he looked with the eyes of an envious rival. In Italy a battle was fought at Casano, between Prince Eugene and the Duke de Vendome, with dubious success. The Duke de Feuillade reduced Chivas, and invested Nice, which, after an obstinate defence, surrendered in December. All the considerable places belonging to the Duke of Savoy were now taken, except Coni and Turin; and his little army was reduced to twelve thousand men, whom he could hardly support. His dukes, his clergy, and his subjects in general, pressed him to submit to the necessity of his affairs: but he adhered to the alliance with surprising fortitude. He withstood the importunities of his dukes, excluded all the bishops and clergy from his councils; and, when he had occasion for a confessor, chose a priest occasionally, either from the Dominicans or Franciscans. The campaign in Portugal began with a very promising aspect.

The allies invaded Spain by the different frontiers of Beyra and Alentejo. Their army under the command of the Conde das Galveas, undertook the siege of Valencia d'Alcantara in May, and took it by assault: Albuquerque surrendered upon articles; and then the troops were sent into quarters of refreshment. The Marquis de las Minas, who commanded the Portuguese in the province of Beyra, reduced the town of Salva-terra, plundered and burned Sarca; but was obliged to retire to Penamacos at the approach of the enemy. Towards the end of September the confederates being re-assembled, invested Badajox, by the advice of the Earl of Galway, who lost his right-hand by a cannon-ball, and was obliged to be carried off; so that the conduct of the siege was left to General Fagel. He had made considerable progress towards the reduction of the place, when the Marquis de Thessé found means to throw in a powerful re-enforcement; and then the confederates abandoned the enterprize. The war continued to rage in Hungary with various success. Ragotski, though frequently worsted, appeared still in arms, and ravaged the country, which became a scene of misery and desolation. In Poland the old Cardinal Primate owned Stanislaus, but died before the coronation, which was performed by the Bishop of Cujavia. In the beginning of winter King Augustus had passed through Poland in disguise to the Muscovite army, which was put under his command in Lithuania; and the campaign was protracted through the whole winter-season, notwithstanding the severity of the weather in that northern

B O O K I. 1705. climate. In the spring the Swedish general, Renschild, obtained a complete victory over the Saxon army, which was either cut in pieces or taken, with their camp, baggage, and artillery: yet the war was not extinguished. The King of Sweden continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of peace, and was become as savage in his manners, as brutal in his revenge.

§ XXXVII. At sea the arms of the allies were generally prosperous. Philip of Spain being obstinately bent upon retaking Gibraltar, sent Mareschal de Theffé to renew the siege, while de Pointis was ordered to block up the place by sea with his squadron. These French officers carried on the siege with such activity, that the Prince of Hesse dispatched an express to Lisbon with a letter, desiring Sir John Leake to sail immediately to his assistance. This admiral having been re-enforced from England by Sir Thomas Dilkes, with five ships of the line and a body of troops, set sail immediately; and on the tenth day of March descried five ships of war hauling out of the bay of Gibraltar. These were commanded by de Pointis in person, to whom the English admiral gave chase. One of them struck, after having made a very slight resistance; and the rest ran ashore to the westward of Marbella, where they were destroyed. The remaining part of the French squadron had been blown from their anchors, and taken shelter in the bay of Malaga: but now they slipped their cables, and made the best of their way to Toulon. The Mareschal de Theffé, in consequence of this disaster, turned the siege of Gibraltar into a blockade, and withdrew

the greater part of his forces. While Sir John Leake was employed in this expedition, Sir George Byng, who had been ordered to cruise in soundings for the protection of trade, took a ship of forty guns from the enemy, together with twelve privateers, and seven vessels richly laden from the West-Indies.

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§ XXXVIII. But the most eminent achievement of this summer, was the reduction of Barcelona, by the celebrated Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesly Shovel, who sailed from St. Helen's in the latter end of May with the English fleet, having on board a body of five thousand land-forces; and on the twentieth of June arrived at Lisbon; where they were joined by Sir John Leake and the Dutch admiral, Allemonde. In a council of war, they determined to put to sea with eight-and-forty ships of the line, which should be stationed between Cape Spartel and the bay of Cadiz, in order to prevent the junction of the Toulon and Brest squadrons. The Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt arriving from Gibraltar, assured King Charles, that the province of Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia were attached to his interest; and his Majesty being weary of Portugal, resolved to accompany the Earl of Peterborough to Barcelona. He accordingly embarked with him on board of the Ranelagh; and the fleet sailed on the twenty-eighth day of July, the Earl of Galway having re-enforced them with two regiments of English dragoons. At Gibraltar they took on board the English guards, and three old regiments, in lieu of which they left two new-raised battalions. On the eleventh day of August they anchored in the bay of Altea, where

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the Earl of Peterborough published a manifesto in the Spanish language, which had such an effect, that all the inhabitants of the place, the neighbouring villages, and adjacent mountains, acknowledged King Charles as their lawful sovereign. They seized the town of Denia for his service; and he sent thither a garrison of four hundred men under the command of Major-General Ramos. On the twenty-second they arrived in the bay of Barcelona: the troops were disembarked to the eastward of the city, where they encamped in a strong situation, and were well received by the country-people. King Charles landed amidst the acclamations of an infinite multitude from the neighbouring towns and villages, who threw themselves at his feet, exclaiming, "Long live the King!" and exhibited all the marks of the most extravagant joy. The inhabitants of Barcelona were well affected to the house of Austria, but overawed by a garrison of five thousand men under the Duke de Popoli, Velasco, and other officers devoted to the interest of King Philip. Considering the strength of such a garrison, and the small number of Dutch and English troops, nothing could appear more desperate and dangerous than the design of besieging the place: yet this was proposed by the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, who served in the expedition as a volunteer, strongly urged by King Charles, and approved by the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesly Shovel. The city was accordingly invested on one side; but, as a previous step to the reduction of it, they resolved to attack the fort of Montjuic, strongly situated on a hill that commanded the city. The

outworks were taken by storm, with the loss of the gallant Prince of Hesse, who was shot through the body, and expired in a few hours: then the Earl of Peterborough began to bombard the body of the fort; and a shell chancing to fall into the magazine of powder, blew it up, together with the governor and some of the best officers: an accident which struck such a terror into the garrison, that they surrendered without further resistance.

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§ XXXIX. This great point being gained, the English general erected his batteries against the town, with the help of the Miquelets and seamen: the bomb-ketches began to fire with such execution, that in a few days the governor capitulated, and on the fourth day of October King Charles entered in triumph*. All the other places in Catalonia declared for him,

* Voltaire, upon what authority we know not, tells us, that during the capitulation, the German and Catalonian troops found means to climb over the ramparts into the city, and began to commit the most barbarous excesses: the Viceroy complained to Peterborough that his soldiers had taken an unfair advantage of the treaty, and were actually employed in burning, plundering, murdering, and violating the inhabitants. The Earl replied, "They must then be the troops of the Prince of Hesse: allow me to enter the city with my English forces: I will save it from ruin; oblige the Germans to retire, and march back again to our present situation." The Viceroy trusted his honor, and forthwith admitted the Earl with his troops. He soon drove out the Germans and Catalonians, after having obliged them to quit the plunder they had taken; and by accident he rescued the Duchess of Popoli from the hands of two brutal soldiers, and delivered her to her husband. Having thus appeased the tumult and dispelled the horrors of the citizens, he returned to his former station, leaving the inhabitants of Barcelona amazed at such an instance of

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except Roses; so that the largest and richest province of Spain was conquered with an army scarce double the number of the garrison of Barcelona. King Charles wrote a letter with his own hand to the Queen of England, containing a circumstantial detail of his affairs, the warmest expressions of acknowledgement, and the highest encomiums on her subjects, particularly the Earl of Peterborough. In a council of war it was determined that the King and the Earl should continue in Catalonia with the land-forces: that Sir Cloudesly Shovel should return to England: that five-and-twenty English and fifteen Dutch ships of war should winter at Lisbon, under the command of Sir John Leake and the Dutch rear-admiral, Wassenauer; and that four English and two Dutch frigates should remain at Barcelona. Don Francisco de Velasco was transported to Malaga with about a thousand men of his garrison: the rest voluntarily engaged in the service of King Charles, and six other regiments were raised by the states of Catalonia. The Count de Cifuentes, at the head of the Miquelets and Catalans attached to the house of Austria, secured Tarragona, Tortosa, Lerida, San-Mattheo, Gironne, and other places. Don Raphael Nevat, revolting from Philip with his whole regiment of horse, joined General Ramos at Denia, and made themselves masters of several places of importance in the kingdom of Valencia. Flushed with such unexpected success they penetrated to the capital of the same name, which they surprised, together with the Marquis de Villa-Garcia, the magnanimity and moderation in a people whom they had been taught to consider as the most savage barbarians.

viceroy, and the archbishop. These advantages, however, were not properly improved. The court of Charles was divided into factions, and so much time lost in disputes, that the enemy sent a body of six thousand men into the kingdom of Valencia, under the command of the Conde de las Torres, who forthwith invested San Mattheo, guarded by Colonel Jones at the head of five hundred Miquelets. This being a place of great consequence, on account of its situation, the Earl of Peterborough marched thither with one thousand infantry, and two hundred dragoons; and by means of feigned intelligence artfully conveyed to the Conde, induced that general to abandon the siege with precipitation, in the apprehension of being suddenly attacked by a considerable army. Peterborough afterwards took possession of Nules, and purchasing horses at Castillon de la Plana, began to form a body of cavalry, which did good service in the sequel. Having assembled a little army, consisting of ten squadrons of horse and dragoons, and four battalions of regular troops, with about three thousand militia, he marched to Molviedro, which was surrendered to him by the governor, Brigadier Mahoni. Between this officer and the Duke d'Arcos, the Spanish general, he excited such jealousies by dint of artifices not altogether justifiable even in war, that the Duke was more intent upon avoiding the supposed treachery of Mahoni than upon interrupting the Earl's march to Valencia, where the inhabitants expressed uncommon marks of joy at his arrival. About this period a very obstinate action happened at St. Istevan de Litera, where the Chevalier d'Asfeldt, with nine squadrons of horse and dragoons, and as

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many battalions of French infantry, attacked Colonel Wills at the head of a small detachment: but this last being supported by Lieutenant-General Cunningham, who was mortally wounded in the engagement, repulsed the enemy, though three times his number, with the loss of four hundred men killed upon the spot. The troops on both sides fought with the most desperate valor, keeping up their fire until the muzzles of their pieces met, and charging each other at the point of the bayonet. The only misfortune that attended the English arms in the course of this year was the capture of the Baltick fleet homeward-bound, with their convoy of three ships of war, which were taken by the Dunkirk-squadron under the command of the Count de St. Paul, though he himself was killed in the engagement. When an account of this advantage was communicated to the French King he replied with a sigh, "Very well, " I wish the ships were safe again in any English " port, provided the Count de St. Paul could be restored to life." After the death of the famous du Bart, this officer was counted the best seaman in France.

§ XL. The kingdom of England was now wholly engrossed by the election of members for the new parliament. The Tories exerted themselves with great industry, and propagated the cry of the church's being in danger; a cry in which the Jacobites joined with great fervor: but, notwithstanding all their efforts, in word and writing, a majority of Whigs was returned; and now the Lord Godolphin, who had hitherto maintained a neutrality, thought proper openly to countenance that faction. By his interest

co-operating with the influence of the Dukes of Marlborough, Sir Nathan Wright was deprived of the great seal, which was committed to Mr. William Cowper, with the title of lord-keeper. This was a lawyer of good extraction superior talents, engaging manners, and eminence in his profession. He was staunch to Whig-principles, and for many years had been considered as one of their best speakers in the House of Commons. The new parliament meeting on the twenty-fifth day of October, a violent contest arose about the choice of a speaker. Mr. Bromley was supported by the Tories, and the Whigs proposed Mr. John Smith, who was elected by a majority of forty-three voices. The Queen in her speech represented the necessity of acting vigorously against France, as a common enemy to the liberties of Europe: she commended the fortitude of the Duke of Savoy, which she said was without example: she told them her intention was to expedite commissions for treating of an union with Scotland: she earnestly recommended an union of minds and affections among her people: she observed, that some persons had endeavoured to foment animosities, and even suggested in print, that the established church was in danger: she affirmed that such people were enemies to her and to the kingdom, and meant only to cover designs which they durst not publicly own, by endeavouring to distract the nation with unreasonable and groundless distrusts and jealousies: she declared she would always affectionately support and countenance the church of England, as by law established: that she would inviolably

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B O O K maintain the toleration: that she would promote
 1. religion and virtue, encourage trade, and every
 1705. thing else that might make them a happy and flourishing people.

§ XLI. The majority in both Houses now professed the same principles; and were well disposed to support the Queen in all her designs. They first presented the usual addresses, in the warmest terms of duty and affection. Then the Commons drew up a second, assuring her they would, to the utmost of their power, assist her in bringing the treaty of union to a happy conclusion. They desired that the proceedings of the last session of parliament, relating to the union and succession, might be laid before the House. The Lords had solicited the same satisfaction; and her Majesty promised to comply with their request. The Lower House having heard and decided in some cases of controverted elections, proceeded to take into consideration the estimates for the service of the ensuing year, and granted the supplies without hesitation. In the House of Lords, while the Queen was present, Lord Haversham, at the end of a long speech, in which he reflected upon the conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, both on the Moselle and in Brabant, moved for an address to desire her Majesty would invite the presumptive heir to the crown of England to come and reside in the kingdom. This motion was earnestly supported by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester, Nottingham, and Anglesey. They said there was no method so effectual to secure the succession, as that of the successor's being upon the spot, ready to assume and

maintain his or her right against any pretender; and they observed, that in former times, when the throne of England was vacant, the first comer had always succeeded in his pretensions. The proposal was vehemently opposed by the Whigs, who knew it was disagreeable to the Queen, whom they would not venture to disoblige. They argued, that a rivalry between the two courts might produce distractions, and be attended with very ill consequences; and observed, that the Princess Sophia had expressed a full satisfaction in the assurances of the Queen, who had promised to maintain her title. The question being put, was carried in the negative by a great majority. The design of the Tories in making this motion was to bring the other party into disgrace, either with the Queen or with the people. Their joining in the measure would have given umbrage to their sovereign; and, by opposing it, they ran the risque of incurring the public odium, as enemies to the protestant succession: but the pretence of the Tories was so thin, the nation saw through it; and the sole effect the motion produced, was the Queen's resentment against the whole party. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, proposed that provision might be made for maintaining the public quiet, in the interval between the Queen's decease, and the arrival of her successor: the motion was seconded by the Lord-Treasurer; and a bill brought in for the better security of her Majesty's person and government, and of the succession to the crown of England. By this act, a regency was appointed of the seven persons that should possess the offices of Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor

B O O K or Lord-Keeper, Lord-Treasurer, Lord-President,
I. Lord Privy-Seal, Lord High-Admiral, and the Lord-
1705. Chief-Justice of the Queen's-Bench. Their business was to proclaim the next successor through the kingdom of England, and join with a certain number of persons named as regents by the successor, in three lists, to be sealed up and deposited with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord-Keeper, and the Minister Residentiary of Hanover. It was enacted, That these joint regencies should conduct the administration: that the last parliament, even though dissolved, should re-assemble, and continue sitting for six months after the decease of her Majesty. The bill met with a warm opposition from the Tories, and did not pass the Upper House without a protest. It was still further obstructed in the House of Commons even by some of the Whig-party, who were given to understand that the Princess Sophia had expressed an inclination to reside in England. Exceptions were likewise taken to that clause in the bill, enacting that the last parliament should be re-assembled. They affirmed, that this was inconsistent with part of the act by which the succession was at first settled; for, among other limitations, the parliament had provided, that when the crown should devolve to the house of Hanover, no man, who had either place or pension, should be capable of sitting in the House of Commons. After tedious disputes and zealous altercation, they agreed that a certain number of offices should be specified as disqualifying places. This self-denying clause, and some other amendments, produced conferences between the Houses, and at

length the bill passed by their mutual assent. Lord Haversham moved for an inquiry into the miscarriages of the last campaign, hoping to find some foundation for censure in the conduct of the Duke of Marlborough: but the proposal was rejected as invidious; and the two Houses presented an address to the Queen, desiring she would preserve a good correspondence among all the confederates. They likewise concurred in repealing the act by which the Scots had been alienated, and all the northern counties alarmed with the apprehension of a rupture between the two nations. The Lord Shannon and Brigadier Stanhope arriving with an account of the expedition to Catalonia, the Queen communicated the good news in a speech to both Houses, expressing her hope that they would enable her to prosecute the advantages which her arms had acquired. The Commons were so well pleased with the tidings, that they forthwith granted two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for her Majesty's proportion in the expence of prosecuting the successes already gained by King Charles III. for the recovery of the monarchy of Spain to the house of Austria. On the fifteenth day of November, the Queen gave the royal assent to an act for exhibiting a bill to naturalize the Princess Sophia, and the issue of her body.

§ XLII. These measures being taken, the sixth day of December was appointed for inquiring into those dangers to which the Tories affirmed the church was exposed; and the Queen attended in person, to hear the debates on this interesting subject. The Earl of Rochester compared the expressions in the

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Queen's speech at the beginning of the session to the law enacted in the reign of Charles II. denouncing the penalties of treason against those who should call the King a papist: for which reason, he said, he always thought him of that persuasion. He affirmed that the church's danger arose from the act of security in Scotland, the absence of the successor to the crown, and the practice of occasional conformity. He was answered by Lord Hallifax, who, by way of recrimination, observed that King Charles II. was a Roman catholic, at least his brother declared him a papist after his death: that his brother and successor was a known Roman catholic, yet the church thought herself secure; and those patriots who stood up in its defence were discountenanced and punished: nay, when the successor ascended the throne, and the church was apparently in the most imminent danger, by the high-commission-court and otherwise, the nation was then indeed generally alarmed; and every body knew who sat in that court, and entered deeply into the measures which were then pursued. Compton, Bishop of London, declared that the church was in danger, from profaneness, irreligion, and the licentiousness of the press. He complained, that sermons were preached wherein rebellion was countenanced, and resistance to the higher powers encouraged. He alluded to a sermon preached before the lord-mayor, by Mr. Hoadley, now Bishop of Winchester. Burnet of Sarum said the Bishop of London was the last man who ought to complain of that sermon; for if the doctrine it contained was not good, he did not know what defence his lordship

lordship could make for his appearing in arms at Nottingham. He affirmed the church would be always subject to profaneness and irreligion, but that they were not now so flagrant as they usually had been: he said the society set up for reformation in London, and other cities, had contributed considerably to the suppression of vice: he was sure the corporation for propagating the gospel had done a great deal towards instructing men in religion, by giving great numbers of books in practical divinity; by erecting libraries in country-parishes; by sending many able divines to the foreign plantations, and founding schools to breed up children in the christian knowledge; though to this expense very little had been contributed by those who appeared so wonderfully zealous for the church. The Archbishop of York expressed his apprehension of danger from the increase of dissenters; particularly from the many academies they had instituted: he moved that the judges might be consulted with respect to the laws that were in force against such seminaries, and by what means they might be suppressed. Lord Wharton moved that the judges might also be consulted about means of suppressing schools and seminaries held by nonjurors; in one of which the sons of a noble lord in that House had been educated. To this sarcasm the Archbishop replied, that his sons were indeed taught by Mr. Ellis, a sober, virtuous man; but that when he refused the oath of abjuration, they were immediately withdrawn from his instructions. Lord Wharton proceeded to declare, that he had carefully perused a pamphlet entitled, "The Memorial,"

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which was said to contain a demonstration that the church was in danger: but all he could learn was, that the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham, were out of place: that he remembered some of these noblemen sat in the high-commission-court, and then made no complaint of the church's being in danger. Patrick, Bishop of Ely, complained of the heat and passion manifested by the gentlemen belonging to the universities; and of the undutiful behaviour of the clergy towards their bishops. He was seconded by Hough of Litchfield and Coventry, who added, that the inferior clergy calumniated their bishops, as if they were in a plot to destroy the church, and had compounded to be the last of their order. Hooper of Bath and Wells expatiated on the invidious distinction implied in the terms, "High church, and Low church." The Duke of Leeds asserted, that the church could not be safe, without an act against occasional conformity. Lord Somers recapitulated all the arguments which had been used on both sides of the question: he declared his own opinion was, that the nation was happy under a wise and just administration: that for men to raise groundless jealousies at that juncture, could mean no less than an intention to embroil the people at home, and defeat the glorious designs of the allies abroad. The debate being finished, the question was put, Whether the church of England was in danger? and carried in the negative by a great majority: then the House resolved, That the church of England as by law established, which was rescued from the extremest danger by King William III. of glorious memory, is now, by God's blessing, under the happy reign of her

Majesty, in a most safe and flourishing condition; and that whoever goes about to suggest or insinuate that the church is in danger, under her Majesty's administration, is an enemy to the Queen, the church, and the kingdom. Next day the Commons concurred in this determination, and joined the Lords in an address to the Queen, communicating this resolution, beseeching her to take effectual measures for making it public; and also punishing the authors and spreaders of the seditious and scandalous reports of the church's being in danger. She accordingly issued a proclamation, containing the resolution of the two Houses, and offering a reward for discovering the author of the memorial of the church of England, and for apprehending David Edwards, a professed papist, charged upon oath to be the printer and publisher of that libel.

§ XLIII. After a short adjournment, a committee of the Lower House presented the thanks of the Commons to the Duke of Marlborough, for his great services performed to her Majesty and the nation in the last campaign, and for his prudent negociations with her allies. This nobleman was in such credit with the people, that when he proposed a loan of five hundred thousand pounds to the Emperor, upon a branch of his revenue in Silesia, the money was advanced immediately by the merchants of London. The kingdom was blessed with plenty: the Queen was universally beloved: the people in general were zealous for the prosecution of the war: the forces were well paid: the Treasury was punctual; and, though a great quantity of coin was exported for the maintenance

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of the war, the paper-currency supplied the deficiency so well, that no murmurs were heard, and the public credit flourished both at home and abroad. All the funds being established, one in particular for two millions and a half by way of annuities for ninety-nine years, at six and a half per cent; and all the bills having received the royal assent, the Queen went to the House of Peers on the nineteenth day of March, where having thanked both Houses for the repeated instances of their affection which she had received, she prorogued the parliament to the twenty-first day of May following'. The new convocation, instead of imitating the union and harmony of the parliament, revived the divisions by which the former had been distracted, and the two Houses seemed to act with more determined rancor against each other. The Upper-House having drawn up a warm address of thanks to the Queen, for her affectionate care of the church, the Lower House refused to concur; nor would they give any reason for their dissent'. They prepared another in a different strain, which was rejected by the Archbishop. Then they agreed to divers resolutions, asserting their right of having what they offered to the Upper-House received by his grace and their lordships. In consequence of this dissension the address was dropped, and a stop put to all further communication between the two Houses'.

^s Among other bills passed during this session was an act for abridging and reforming some proceedings in the common law and in Chancery.

^e Burnet. Boyer. Lockhart. Quincy. Hist. of Europe. Feuquieres. Tindal.

['] Hist. of the D. of Marlborough. Burchet. Lives of the Admirals. Voltaire.

The Dean of Peterborough protested against the irregularities of the Lower House. The Queen, in a letter to the Archbishop, signified her resolution to maintain her supremacy, and the due subordination of presbyters to bishops. She expressed her hope that he and his suffragans would act conformably to her resolution, in which case they might be assured of the continuance of her favor and protection: she required him to impart this declaration to the bishops and clergy, and to prorogue the Convocation to such time as should appear most convenient. When he communicated this letter to the Lower House, the members were not a little confounded: nevertheless, they would not comply with the prorogation, but continued to sit in defiance of her Majesty's pleasure.

§ XLIV. The eyes of Great-Britain were now turned upon a transaction of the utmost consequence to the whole island; namely, the treaty for an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The Queen having appointed the commissioners^{*} on both

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^{*} The English commissioners were, Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; William Cowper, lord-keeper of the great seal; John Lord Archbishop of York; Sidney Lord Godolphin, lord high-treasurer of England; Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, president of the council; John Duke of Newcastle, keeper of the privy-seal; William Duke of Devonshire, steward of the household; Charles Duke of Somerset, master of the horse; Charles Duke of Bolton, Charles Earl of Sunderland, Evelyn Earl of Kingston, Charles Earl of Carlisle, Edward Earl of Orford, Charles Viscount Townshend, Thomas Lord Wharton, Ralph Lord Grey, John Lord Powlet, John Lord Somers, Charles Lord Hallifax, William Cavendish Marquis of Hartington, John Manners Marquis of Granby; Sir Charles

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fides, they met on the sixteenth day of April, in the council-chamber of the Cockpit near Whitehall, which was the place appointed for the conferences. Their commissions being opened and read by the respective secretaries, and introductory speeches being pronounced by the Lord-Keeper of England, and the Lord-Chancellor of Scotland, they agreed to certain preliminary articles, importing, That all the proposals should be made in writing, and every point, when agreed, reduced to writing; That no points should be obligatory, till all matters should be adjusted

Hedges and Robert Harley, principal secretaries of state; John Smith; Henry Boyle, chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir John Holt, chief-justice of the Queen's-Bench; Sir Thomas Trevor, chief-justice of the Common-Pleas; Sir Edward Northey, attorney-general; Sir Simon Harcourt, solicitor-general; Sir John Cook; and Stephen Waller, doctor of laws. — The Scottish commissioners were, James Earl of Seafield, lord chancellor of Scotland; James Duke of Queensberry, lord privy-seal; John Earl of Mar, and Hugh Earl of Loudon, principal secretaries of state; John Earl of Sutherland, John Earl of Morton, David Earl of Wemys, David Earl of Leven, John Earl of Stair, Archibald Earl of Roseberry, David Earl of Glasgow, Lord Archibald Campbell, Thomas Viscount Duplin, Lord William Ross, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, president of the session; Adam Cockburn, of Ormiston, lord-justice-clerk; Sir John Dundas of Arnistoun, Robert Stuart, of Tillicultrie, lord of the session; Mr. Francis Montgomery, one of the commissioners of the Treasury; Sir David Dalrymple, one of her Majesty's solicitors; Sir Alexander Ogilvie, receiver-general; Sir Patrick Johnston, provost of Edinburgh; Sir James Smollet, of Bonhill; George Lockhart, of Carowath; William Morison, of Petstongrange; Alexander Grant; William Seton, of Pitmidden; John Clerk, of Pennycook; Hugh Montgomery, Daniel Stuart, and Daniel Campbell.

in such a manner as would be proper to be laid before the Queen, and the two parliaments, for their approbation: That a committee should be appointed from each commission, to revise the minutes of what might pass, before they should be inserted in the books by the respective secretaries; and that all the proceedings during the treaty should be kept secret. The Scots were inclined to a federal union, like that of the United Provinces: but the English were bent upon an incorporation, so as that no Scottish parliament should ever have power to repeal the articles of the treaty. The Lord Keeper proposed that the two kingdoms of England and Scotland should be for ever united into one realm, by the name of Great-Britain: That it should be represented by one and the same parliament; and, That the succession of this monarchy, failing heirs of her Majesty's body, should be according to the limitations mentioned in the act of parliament passed in the reign of King William, entitled, An act for the further limitation of the crown, and the better securing the rights and liberties of the subject. The Scottish commissioners, in order to comply in some measure with the popular clamor of their nation, presented a proposal, implying that the succession to the crown of Scotland should be established upon the same persons mentioned in the act of King William's reign: That the subjects of Scotland should for ever enjoy all the rights and privileges of the natives in England, and the dominions thereunto belonging; and, That the subjects of England should enjoy the like rights and privileges in Scotland: That there should be a free

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communication and intercourse of trade and navigation between the two kingdoms, and plantations thereunto belonging; and that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, contrary to the terms of this union, should be repealed. The English commissioners declined entering into any consideration upon these proposals, declaring themselves fully convinced that nothing but an entire union could settle a perfect and lasting friendship between the two kingdoms. The Scots acquiesced in this reply, and both sides proceeded in the treaty, without any other intervening dispute. They were twice visited by the Queen, who exhorted them to accelerate the articles of a treaty that would prove so advantageous to both kingdoms. At length they were finished, arranged, and mutually signed, on the twenty-second of July, and next day presented to her Majesty, at the palace of St. James, by the Lord Keeper, in the name of the English commissioners: at the same time a sealed copy of the instrument was likewise delivered by the Lord Chancellor of Scotland; and each made a short oration on the subject, to which the Queen returned a very gracious reply. That same day she dictated an order of council, that whoever should be concerned in any discourse or libel, or in laying wagers relating to the union, should be prosecuted with the utmost rigor of the law.

§ XLV. In this famous treaty it was stipulated, That the succession to the united kingdom of Great-Britain should be vested in the Princess Sophia, and her heirs, according to the acts already passed in the parliament of England: That the United

kingdom should be represented by one and the same parliament: That all the subjects of Great-Britain should enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages: That they should have the same allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks; and be under the same prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations, with respect to commerce and customs: That Scotland should not be charged with the temporary duties on some certain commodities: That the sum of three hundred, ninety-eight thousand and eighty-five pounds, ten shillings, should be granted to the Scots, as an equivalent for such parts of the customs and excise charged upon that kingdom, in consequence of the union, as would be applicable to the payment of the debts of England, according to the proportion which the customs and excise of Scotland bore to those of England: That, as the revenues of Scotland might increase, a further equivalent should be allowed for such proportion of the said increase as should be applicable to the payment of the debts of England: That the sum to be paid at present, as well as the monies arising from the future equivalents, should be employed in reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of the English coin; in paying of the capital stock and interest due to the proprietors of the African company, which should be immediately dissolved; in discharging all the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland; in promoting and encouraging manufactures and fisheries, under the direction of commissioners to be appointed by her Majesty, and accountable to the parliament of Great-Britain:

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That the laws concerning public right, policy, and civil government, should be the same throughout the whole united kingdom; but that no alteration should be made in laws which concerned private right, except for the evident utility of the subjects within Scotland: That the court of session, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain as then constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before the union; subject, nevertheless, to such regulations as should be made by the parliament of Great-Britain: That all heritable offices, superiorities, heritable jurisdictions, offices for life, and jurisdictions for life, should be reserved to the owners, as rights of property, in the same manner as then enjoyed by the laws of Scotland: That the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland should remain entire after the union: That Scotland be represented in the parliament of Great-Britain by sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, to be elected in such a manner as should be settled by the present parliament of Scotland: That all peers of Scotland, and the successors to their honors and dignities, should, from and after the union, be peers of Great-Britain, and should have rank and precedence next and immediately after the English peers of the like orders and degrees at the time of the union; and before all peers of Great-Britain of the like orders and degrees, who might be created after the union: That they should be tried as peers of Great-Britain, and enjoy all privileges of peers, as fully as enjoyed by the peers of England, except the right and privilege of

fitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting upon the trials of peers: That the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls, and registers whatsoever, should still remain as they were, within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland: That all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they might be inconsistent with the terms of these articles, should cease and be declared void by the respective parliaments of the two kingdoms. — Such is the substance of that treaty of union which was so eagerly courted by the English ministry, and proved so unpalatable to the generality of the Scottish nation.

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§ I. *Battle of Ramillies, in which the French are defeated.* II. *The siege of Barcelona raised by the English fleet.* III. *Prince Eugene obtains a complete victory over the French at Turin.* IV. *Sir Cloudefly Shovel sails with a re-enforcement to Charles King of Spain.* V. *The King of Sweden marches into Saxony.* VI. *The French King demands conferences for a peace.* VII. *Meeting of the Scottish parliament.* VIII. *Violent opposition to the union.* IX. *The Scots in general averse to the treaty.* X. *Which is nevertheless confirmed in their parliament.* XI. *Proceedings in the English parliament.* XII. *The Commons approve of the articles of the union.* XIII. *The Lords pass a bill for the security of the church of England.* *Arguments used against the articles of the union.* XIV. *Which, however, are confirmed by act of parliament.* XV. *The parliament revived by proclamation.* XVI. *The Queen gives audience to a Muscovite ambassador.* XVII. *Proceedings in convocation.* XVIII. *France threatened with total ruin.* XIX. *The allies are defeated at Almanza.* XX. *Unsuccessful attempt upon Toulon.* XXI. *Sir Cloudefly Shovel wrecked on the rocks of Scilly.* *Weakness of the Emperor on the Upper Rhine.* XXII. *Interview between the King of Sweden and the Duke of Marlborough.* XXIII. *Inactive campaign in the Netherlands.* XXIV. *Harley begins to form a party against the Duke of Marlborough.* XXV. *The*

nation discontented with the Whig-ministry. XXVI. Meeting of the first British parliament. XXVII. Inquiry into the state of the war in Spain. XXVIII. Gregg, a clerk in the secretary's office, detected in a correspondence with the French ministry. XXIX. Harley resigns his employment. XXX. The Pretender embarks at Dunkirk for Scotland. XXXI. His design is defeated. XXXII. State of the nation at that period. XXXIII. Parliament dissolved. XXXIV. The French surprise Ghent and Bruges. XXXV. They are routed at Oudenarde. XXXVI. The allies invest Lisle. XXXVII. They defeat a large body of French forces at Wynendale. The Elector of Bavaria attacks Brussels. XXXVIII. Lisle surrendered, Ghent taken, and Bruges abandoned. XXXIX. Conquest of Minorca by General Stanhope. XL. Rupture between the Pope and the Emperor. XLI. Death of Prince George of Denmark. XLII. The new parliament assembled. XLIII. Naturalization bill. XLIV. Act of grace. XLV. Dispute about the Muscovite ambassador compromised.

§ I. **W**HILE this treaty was on the carpet at home the allied arms prospered surprisngly in the Netherlands, in Spain, and in Piedmont. The French King had resolved to make very considerable efforts in these countries; and, indeed, at the beginning of the campaign his armies were very formidable. He hoped that, by the reduction of Turin and Barcelona, the war would be extinguished in Italy and Catalonia. He knew he could

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out-number any body of forces that Prince Louis of Baden should assemble on the Rhine; and he resolved to re-enforce his army in Flanders, so as to be in a condition to act offensively against the Duke of Marlborough. This nobleman repaired to Holland in the latter end of April; and conferred with the States-General. Then he assembled the army between Borschloen and Groef-Waren, and found it amounted to seventy-four battalions of foot, and one hundred and twenty-three squadrons of horse and dragoons, well furnished with artillery and pontoons. The court of France having received intelligence that the Danish and Prussian troops had not yet joined the confederates, ordered the Elector of Bavaria and the Marechal de Villeroy to attack them before the junction could be effected. In pursuance of this order they passed the Deule on the nineteenth day of May, and posted themselves at Tirlemont, being superior in number to the allied army. There they were joined by the horse of the army, commanded by Marechal Marfin, and encamped between Tirlemont and Judoigne. On Whitfunday, early in the morning, the Duke of Marlborough advanced with his army in eight columns towards the village of Ramillies, being by this time joined by the Danes; and he learned that the enemy were in march to give him battle. Next day the French generals perceiving the confederates so near them, took possession of a strong camp, the right extending to the Tomb of Hautemont, on the side of the Mehaigne; their left to Anderkirk; and the village

of Ramillies being near their centre. The confederate army was drawn up in order of battle, with the right wing near Foltz on the brook of Yause, and the left by the village of Franquenies, which the enemy had occupied. The Duke ordered Lieutenant-General Schultz, with twelve battalions and twenty pieces of cannon, to begin the action, by attacking Ramillies, which was strongly fortified with artillery. At the same time Feldt-Mareschal d'Auverquerque, on the left, commanded Colonel Wertmuller, with four battalions and two pieces of cannon, to dislodge the enemy's infantry posted among the hedges of Franquenies. Both these orders were successfully executed. The Dutch and Danish horse of the left wing charged with great vigor and intrepidity, but were so roughly handled by the troops of the French King's household, that they began to give way, when the Duke of Marlborough sustained them with the body of reserve, and twenty squadrons drawn from the right, where a morass prevented them from acting. In the mean time, he in person rallied some of the broken squadrons, in order to renew the charge, when his own horse falling, he was surrounded by the enemy, and must have been either killed or taken prisoner, had not a body of infantry come seasonably to his relief. When he remounted his horse, the head of Colonel Brienfield, his gentleman of the horse, was carried off by a cannon-ball while he held the Duke's stirrup. Before the re-enforcement arrived, the best part of the French mousquetaires were cut in pieces. All the troops posted in Ramillies were either killed or taken.

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I. tolerable order, under cover of the cavalry on their
1706. left wing, which formed themselves in three lines
 between Offuz and Anderkirk: but the English horse
 having found means to pass the rivulet which divided
 them from the enemy, fell upon them with such im-
 petuosity, that they abandoned their foot, and were
 terribly slaughtered in the village of Anderkirk.
 They now gave way on all sides. The horse fled
 three different ways: but were so closely pursued,
 that very few escaped. The Elector of Bavaria, and
 the Marechal de Villeroy saved themselves with the
 utmost difficulty. Several waggons of the enemy's
 van-guard breaking down in a narrow pass obstruc-
 ted the way in such a manner, that the baggage and
 artillery could not proceed; nor could their troops
 defile in order. The victorious horse being informed
 of this accident, pressed on them so vigorously, that
 great numbers threw down their arms and submit-
 ted. The pursuit was followed through Judoigne
 till two o'clock in the morning, five leagues
 from the field of battle, and within two of Lou-
 vaine. In a word, the confederates obtained a
 complete victory. They took the enemy's bag-
 gage and artillery, about one hundred and twenty
 colors, or standards, six hundred officers, six
 thousand private soldiers; and about eight thousand
 were killed or wounded¹. Prince Maximilian

¹ The French impute the loss of this battle to the misconduct
 of Villeroy, who, it must be owned, made a most wretched dis-
 position. When he returned to Versailles, where he expected to
 meet with nothing but reproaches, Louis received him without
 the least mark of displeasure, saying, "Mr. Marechal, you
 " and I are too old to be fortunate." and

and Prince Monbafon lost their lives : the Major-Generals Palavicini and Mezieres were taken, together with the Marquisses de Bar, de Nonant, and de la Baume, this last the son of the Marechal de Tallard, Monsieur de Montmorency, nephew to the Duke of Luxembourg, and many other persons of distinction. The loss of the allies did not exceed three thousand men, including Prince Louis of Hesse, and Mr. Bentick, who were slain in the engagement. The French generals retired with precipitation to Brussels, while the allies took possession of Louvaine, and next day encamped at Bethlem. The battle of Ramillies was attended with the immediate conquest of all Brabant. The cities of Louvaine, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, submitted without resistance, and acknowledged King Charles. Ostend, though secured by a strong garrison, was surrendered after a siege of ten days. Menin, esteemed the most finished fortification in the Netherlands, and guarded by six thousand men, met with the same fate. The garrison of Dendermonde surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and Aeth submitted on the same conditions. The French troops were dispirited. The city of Paris was overwhelmed with consternation. Louis affected to bear his misfortunes with calmness and composure: but the constraint had such an effect upon his constitution, that his physicians thought it necessary to prescribe frequent bleeding, which he accordingly underwent. At his court no mention was made of military transactions: all was solemn, silent, and reserved.

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§ II. Had the issue of the campaign in Catalonia been such as the beginning seemed to prognosticate, the French King might have in some measure consoled himself for his disgraces in the Netherlands. On the sixth day of April King Philip, at the head of a numerous army, undertook the siege of Barcelona, while the Count de Thoulouse blocked it up with a powerful squadron. The inhabitants, animated by the presence of King Charles, made a vigorous defence; and the garrison was re-enforced with some troops from Gironne and other places. But, after the fort of Monjuic was taken, the place was so hard pressed, that Charles ran the utmost risque of falling into the hands of the enemy; for the Earl of Peterborough, who had marched from Valencia with two thousand men, found it impracticable to enter the city. Nevertheless, he maintained his post upon the hills; and, with surprising courage and activity, kept the besiegers in continual alarm. At length, Sir John Leake sailed from Lisbon with thirty ships of the line; and on the eighth day of May arrived in sight of Barcelona. The French admiral no sooner received intelligence of his approach, than he set sail for Toulon. In three days after his departure, King Philip abandoned the siege, and retired in great disorder, leaving behind his tents, with the sick and wounded. On the side of Portugal the Duke of Berwick was left with such an inconsiderable force as proved insufficient to defend the frontiers. The Earl of Galway, with an army of twenty thousand men, undertook the siege of Alcantara; and in three days the garrison, consisting of four thousand men, were made

prisoners of war. Then he marched to Placentia, and advanced as far as the bridge of Almaras: but the Portuguese would penetrate no farther until they should know the fate of Barcelona. When they understood the siege was raised, they consented to proceed to Madrid. Philip guessing their intention, posted to that capital, and sent his Queen with all his valuable effects to Burgos, whither he followed her in person, after having destroyed every thing that he could not carry away. About the latter end of June the Earl of Galway entered the city without resistance; but the Spaniards were extremely mortified to see an army of Portuguese, headed by an heretic, in possession of their capital. King Charles loitered away his time in Barcelona, until his competitor recovered his spirits, and received such reinforcements as enabled him to return to Madrid, with an army equal to that commanded by the Earl of Galway. This general made a motion towards Arragon, in order to facilitate his conjunction with Charles, who had set out by the way of Saragossa, where he was acknowledged as sovereign of Arragon and Valencia. In the beginning of August this prince arrived at the Portuguese camp, with a small reinforcement; and in a few days was followed by the Earl of Peterborough, at the head of five hundred dragoons. The two armies were now pretty equal in point of number; but as each expected further reinforcements, neither chose to hazard an engagement. The Earl of Peterborough, who aspired to the chief command, and hated the Prince of Lichtenstein, who enjoyed the confidence of King Charles, retired

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in disgust; and, embarking on board an English ship of war, set sail for Genoa. The English fleet continued all the summer in the Mediterranean: they secured Carthagenæ, which had declared for Charles: they took the town of Alicant by assault, and the castle by capitulation. Then sailing out of the straits, one squadron was detached to the West-Indies, another to lie at Lisbon, and the rest were sent home to England.

§ III. Fortune was not more propitious to the French in Italy than in Flanders. The Duke de Vendôme having been recalled to assume the command in Flanders after the battle of Ramillies, the Duke of Orleans was placed at the head of the army in Piedmont, under the tutorage and direction of the Mareschal de Marfin. They were ordered to besiege Turin, which was accordingly invested in the month of May: and the operations carried on till the beginning of September. Great preparations had been made for this siege. It was not undertaken until the Duke of Savoy had rejected all the offers of the French monarch, which were sufficient to have shaken a prince of less courage and fortitude. The Duke de la Feuillade having finished the lines of circumvallation and contravallation, sent his quarter-master general with a trumpet, to offer passports and a guard for the removal of the Duchess and her children. The Duke of Savoy replied, that he did not intend to remove his family, and that the Mareschal might begin to execute his master's orders whenever he should think fit: but, when the siege began with uncommon fury, and the

French fired red-hot balls into the place, the two duchesses, with the young prince and princesses, quitted Turin, and retired to Quierasco, from whence they were conducted through many dangers into the territories of Genoa. The Duke himself forsook his capital, in order to put himself at the head of his cavalry; and was pursued from place to place by five-and-forty squadrons, under the command of the Count d'Aubeterre. Notwithstanding the very noble defence which was made by the garrison of Turin, which destroyed fourteen thousand of the enemy during the course of the siege, the defences were almost ruined, their ammunition began to fail, and they had no prospect of relief but from Prince Eugene, who had numberless difficulties to encounter before he could march to their assistance. The Duke de Vendome, before he left Italy, had secured all the fords of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Oglio, and formed such lines and intrenchments as he imagined would effectually hinder the Imperial general from arriving in time to relieve the city of Turin. But the Prince surmounted all opposition; passed four great rivers in despite of the enemy; and reached the neighbourhood of Turin on the thirteenth day of August. There being joined by the Duke of Savoy, he passed the Po between Montcalier and Cavignan. On the fifth day of September they took a convoy of eight hundred loaded mules: next day they passed the Doria, and encamped with the right on the bank of that river before Pianessa, and the left on the Stura before the Veneria. The enemy were intrenched,

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having the Stura on their right, the Doria on their left, and the convent of capuchins, called Notre Dame de la Campagne, in their centre. When Prince Eugene approached Turin, the Duke of Orleans proposed to march out of the intrenchments, and give him battle; and this proposal was seconded by all the general-officers, except Marfin, who finding the Duke determined, produced an order from the French King, commanding the Duke to follow the Marechal's advice. The court of Versailles was now become afraid of hazarding an engagement against those who had so often defeated their armies; and this officer had private instructions to keep within the trenches. On the seventh day of September the confederates marched up to the intrenchments of the French, in eight columns, through a terrible fire from forty pieces of artillery, and were formed in order of battle within half-cannon-shot of the enemy. Then they advanced to the attack with surprising resolution, and met with such a warm reception as seemed to stop their progress. Prince Eugene perceiving this check, drew his sword, and putting himself at the head of the battalions on the left, forced the intrenchments at the first charge. The Duke of Savoy met with the same success in the centre, and on the right near Lucengo. The horse advanced through the intervals of the foot, left for that purpose; and breaking in with vast impetuosity, completed the confusion of the enemy, who were defeated on all hands, and retired with precipitation to the other side of the Po, while the Duke of Savoy entered his capital in triumph. The Duke of Orleans

exhibited repeated proofs of the most intrepid courage; and received several wounds in the engagement. Marechal de Marfin fell into the hands of the victors, his thigh being shattered with a ball, and died in a few hours after the amputation. Of the French army about five thousand men were slain on the field of battle: a great number of officers, and upwards of seven thousand men were taken, together with two hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon, one hundred and eighty mortars, an incredible quantity of ammunition, all the tents and baggage, five thousand beasts of burden, ten thousand horses belonging to thirteen regiments of dragoons, and the mules of the commissary-general, so richly laden, that this part of the booty alone was valued at three millions of livres. The loss of the confederates did not exceed three thousand men killed or disabled in the action, besides about the same number at the garrison of Turin, which had fallen since the beginning of the siege. This was such a fatal stroke to the interest of Louis, that Madame de Maintenon would not venture to make him fully acquainted with the state of his affairs. He was told that the Duke of Orleans had raised the siege of Turin at the approach of Prince Eugene: but he knew not that his own army was defeated and ruined. The spirits of the French were a little comforted in consequence of an advantage gained about this time, by the Count de Medavi-grancey, who commanded a body of troops left in the Mantuan territories. He surprised the Prince of Hesse in the neighbourhood of Castiglione, and obliged him to retire to the

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I. this victory was attended with no consequence in
1706. their favor. The Duke of Orleans retreated into Dauphiné, while the French garrisons were driven out of every place they occupied in Piedmont and Italy, except Cremona, Valenza, and the castle of Milan, which were blocked up by the confederates.

§ IV. Over and above these disasters which the French sustained in the course of this campaign, they were miserably alarmed by the project of an invasion from Britain, formed by the Marquis de Guiscard, who, actuated by a family-disgust, had abandoned his country, and become a partisan of the confederates. He was declared a lieutenant-general in the Emperor's army, and came over to London, after having settled a correspondence with the malecontents in the southern parts of France. He insinuated himself into the friendship of Henry St. John, secretary of war, and other persons of distinction. His scheme of invading France was approved by the British ministry, and he was promoted to the command of a regiment of dragoons destined for that service. About eleven thousand men were embarked under the conduct of Earl Rivers, with a large train of artillery; and the combined squadrons, commanded by Sir Cloudesly Shovel, set sail from Plymouth on the thirteenth day of August. Next day they were forced into Torbay by contrary winds; and there they held a council of war to concert their operations, when they discovered that Guiscard's plan was altogether chimerical, or at least founded upon such flight

assurances and conjectures, as could not justify their proceeding to execution. An express was immediately, dispatched to the Admiralty, with the result of this council; and, in the mean time, letters arrived at court from the Earl of Galway, after his retreat from Madrid to Valencia, soliciting succours with the most earnest entreaties. The expedition to France was immediately postponed; and Sir Cloudesly Shovel was ordered to make the best of his way for Lisbon, there to take such measures as the state of the war in Spain should render necessary. Guiscard and his officers being set on shore, the fleet sailed with the first fair wind, and towards the latter end of October arrived at Lisbon. On the twenty-eighth day of the next month the King of Portugal died, and his eldest son and successor being but eighteen years of age, was even more than his father influenced by a ministry which had private connexions with the court of Versailles. Nevertheless, Sir Cloudesly Shovel and Earl Rivers, being pressed by letters from King Charles and the Earl of Galway, sailed to their assistance in the beginning of January; and on the twenty-eighth arrived at Alicant, from whence the Earl of Rivers proceeded by land to Valencia, in order to assist at a general council of war. The operations of the ensuing campaign being concerted, and the army joined by the re-enforcement from England, Earl Rivers, disliking the country, returned with the Admiral to Lisbon.

§ V. Poland was at length delivered from the presence of the King of Sweden, who in the beginning of September suddenly marched through Lusatia into

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Saxony; and in a little time laid that whole electorate under contribution. Augustus being thus cut off from all resource, resolved to obtain peace on the Swede's own terms, and engaged in a secret treaty for this purpose. In the mean time the Poles and Muscovites attacked the Swedish forces at Kalish in Great Poland; and by dint of numbers routed them with great slaughter. Notwithstanding this event, Augustus ratified the treaty, by which he acknowledged Stanislaus as true and rightful King of Poland, reserving to himself no more than the empty title of sovereign. The confederates were not a little alarmed to find Charles in the heart of Germany; and the French court did not fail to court his alliance: but he continued on the reserve against all their sollicitations. Then they implored his mediation for a peace; and he answered, that he would interpose his good offices, as soon as he should know they would be agreeable to the powers engaged in the grand alliance.

§ VI. The pride of Louis was now humbled to such a degree as might have excited the compassion of his enemies. He employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the Duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the States-General, containing proposals for opening a congress. He had already tampered with the Dutch, in a memorial presented by the Marquis d'Alegre. He likewise besought the Pope to interpose in his behalf. He offered to cede either Spain and the West-Indies, or Milan, Naples, and Sicily to King Charles; to give up a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands; and to indemnify the Duke of Savoy for the ravages that had

been committed in his dominions. Though his real aim was peace, yet he did not despair of being able to excite such jealousies among the confederates as might shake the basis of their union. His hope was not altogether disappointed. The court of Vienna was so much alarmed at the offers he had made, and the reports circulated by his emissaries, that the Emperor resolved to make himself master of Naples before the allies should have it in their power to close with the proposals of France. This was the true motive of his concluding a treaty with Louis in the succeeding winter, by which the Milanese was entirely evacuated, and the French King at liberty to employ those troops in making strong efforts against the confederates in Spain and the Netherlands. The Dutch were intoxicated with success, and their Pensionary, Heinsius, entirely influenced by the Duke of Marlborough, who found his account in the continuance of the war, which at once gratified his avarice and ambition; for all his great qualities were obscured by the sordid passion of accumulating wealth. During the whole war the allies never had such an opportunity as they now enjoyed to bridle the power of France effectually, and secure the liberties of the empire; and indeed, if their real design was to establish an equal balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, it could not have been better effected than by dividing the Spanish monarchy between these two potentates. The accession of Spain, with all its appendages, to either, would have destroyed the equilibrium which the allies proposed to establish. But other motives contributed

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to a continuation of the war. The powers of the confederacy were fired with the ambition of making conquests; and England in particular thought herself entitled to an indemnification for the immense sums she had expended. Animated by these concurring considerations. Queen Anne and the States-General rejected the offers of France; and declared, that they would not enter into any negociation for peace, except in concert with their allies.

§ VII. The tories of England began to meditate schemes of opposition against the Duke of Marlborough. They looked upon him as a selfish nobleman, who sacrificed the interest of the nation, in protracting a ruinous war for his own private advantage. They saw their country oppressed with an increasing load of taxes, which they apprehended would in a little time become an intolerable burden; and they did not doubt but at this period such terms might be obtained as would fully answer the great purpose of the confederacy. This, indeed, was the prevailing opinion among all the sensible people of the nation who were not particularly interested in the prosecution of the war, either by being connected with the General, or in some shape employed in the management of the finances. The Tories were likewise instigated by a party-spirit against Marlborough, who, by means of his wife, was in full possession of the Queen's confidence, and openly patronized the Whig-faction. But the attention of people in general was now turned upon the Scottish parliament, which took into consideration the treaty of union lately concluded between the commissioners

of both kingdoms. On the third day of October the Duke of Queensberry, as high-commissioner, produced the Queen's letter, in which she expressed her hope, that the terms of the treaty would be acceptable to her parliament of Scotland. She said, an entire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace: it would secure their religion, liberty, and property, remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations: it would increase their strength, riches, and commerce: the whole island would be joined in affection, and free from all apprehension of different interests: it would be enabled to resist all its enemies, support the protestant interest every where, and maintain the liberties of Europe. She renewed her assurance of maintaining the government of their church; and told them, that now they had an opportunity of taking such steps as might be necessary for its security after the union. She demanded the necessary supplies. She observed, that the great success with which God Almighty had blessed her arms afforded the nearer prospect of a happy peace, with which they would enjoy the full advantages of this union: that they had no reason to doubt but the parliament of England would do all that should be necessary on their part to confirm the union: finally, she recommended calmness and unanimity in deliberating on this great and weighty affair, of such consequence to the whole island of Great-Britain.

§ VIII. Hitherto the articles of the union had been industriously concealed from the knowledge of the people: but the treaty being recited in parliament,

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and the particulars divulged, such a flame was kindled through the whole nation, as had not appeared since the Restoration. The cavaliers or Jacobites had always foreseen that this union would extinguish all their hopes of a revolution in favor of a pretender. The nobility found themselves degraded in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their seats in parliament. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce saddled with heavy duties and restrictions, and considered the privilege of trading to the English plantations as a precarious and uncertain prospect of advantage. The barons or gentlemen were exasperated at a coalition, by which their parliament was annihilated, and their credit destroyed. The people in general exclaimed, that the dignity of their crown was betrayed: that the independency of their nation had fallen a sacrifice to treachery and corruption: that whatever conditions might be speciously offered, they could not expect they would be observed by a parliament in which the English had such a majority. They exaggerated the dangers to which the constitution of their church would be exposed from a bench of bishops, and a parliament of episcopalians. This consideration alarmed the presbyterian ministers to such a degree, that they employed all their power and credit in waking the resentment of their hearers against the treaty, which produced an universal ferment among all ranks of people. Even the most rigid puritans joined the cavaliers in expressing their detestation of the union; and, laying aside their mutual animosities, promised to co-operate in opposing a measure so

ignominious and prejudicial to their country. In parliament the opposition was headed by the Dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and the Marquis of Anandale. The first of these noblemen had wavered so much in his conduct, that it is difficult to ascertain his real political principles. He was generally supposed to favor the claim of the Pretender; but he was afraid of embarking too far in his cause, and avoided violent measures in the discussion of this treaty, lest he should incur the resentment of the English parliament, and forfeit the estate he possessed in that kingdom. Athol was more forward in his professions of attachment to the court of St. Germain's; but he had less ability, and his zeal was supposed to have been inflamed by resentment against the ministry. The debates upon the different articles of the treaty were carried on with great heat and vivacity; and many shrewd arguments were used against this scheme of an incorporating union. One member affirmed, that it would furnish a handle to any aspiring prince to overthrow the liberties of all Britain; for if the parliament of Scotland could alter, or rather subvert its constitution, this circumstance might be a precedent for the parliament of Great-Britain to assume the same power: that the representatives for Scotland would, from their poverty, depend upon those who possessed the means of corruption: and having expressed so little concern for the support of their own constitution, would pay very little regard to that of any other. "What! (said the Duke of Hamilton) "shall we in half an hour give up what our forefathers maintained

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“ with their lives and fortunes for many ages? Are
 “ here none of the descendants of those worthy
 “ patriots, who defended the liberty of their coun-
 “ try against all invaders; who assisted the great
 “ king Robert Bruce to restore the constitution, and
 “ revenge the falsehood of England, and the usurpa-
 “ tion of Baliol? Where are the Douglasses and
 “ Campbells? Where are the peers, where are the
 “ barons, once the bulwark of the nation? Shall we
 “ yield up the sovereignty and independency of our
 “ country, when we are commanded by those we
 “ represent to preserve the same, and assured of their
 “ assistance to support us?” The Duke of Athol
 protested against an incorporating union, as contrary
 to the honor, interest, fundamental laws, and consti-
 tution of the kingdom of Scotland, the birthright of
 the peers, the rights and privileges of the barons and
 boroughs, and to the claim of right, property, and
 liberty of the subjects. To this protest nineteen peers
 and forty-six commoners adhered. The Earl Mari-
 schal entered a protest, importing, that no person
 being successor to the crown of England should in-
 inherit that of Scotland, without such previous limi-
 tations as might secure the honor and sovereignty of
 the Scottish crown and kingdom, the frequency and
 power of parliament, the religion, liberty, and
 trade of the nation, from English or any foreign
 influence. He was seconded by six-and-forty
 members. With regard to the third article of the
 union, stipulating, that both kingdoms should be
 represented by one and the same parliament, the
 country-party observed, that, by assenting to this
 expedient,

expedient, they did in effect sink their own constitution, while that of England underwent no alteration: that in all nations there are fundamentals, which no power whatever can alter: that the rights and privileges of parliament being one of these fundamentals among the Scots, no parliament, or any other power, could ever legally prohibit the meeting of parliaments, or deprive any of the three estates of its right of sitting or voting in parliament, or give up the rights and privileges of parliament: but that by this treaty the parliament of Scotland was entirely abrogated, its rights and privileges sacrificed, and those of the English parliament substituted in their place. They argued, that though the legislative power in parliament was regulated and determined by a majority of voices; yet the giving up the constitution, with the rights and privileges of the nation, was not subject to suffrage, being founded on dominion and property; and therefore could not be legally surrendered without the consent of every person who had a right to elect and be represented in parliament. They affirmed that the obligation laid on the Scottish members to reside so long in London, in attendance on the British parliament, would drain Scotland of all its money, impoverish the members, and subject them to the temptation of being corrupted. Another protest was entered by the Marquis of Annandale against an incorporating union, as being odious to the people, subversive of the constitution, sovereignty, and claim of right, and threatening ruin to the church as by law established. Fifty-two members joined in this protestation. Almost every article

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I. Belhaven enumerated the mischiefs which would
1706. attend the union, in a pathetic speech, that drew tears from the audience, and is at this day looked upon as a prophecy by great part of the Scottish nation. Addresses against the treaty were presented to parliament by the convention of boroughs, the commissioners of the general-assembly, the company trading to Africa and the Indies, as well as from several shires, stewartries, boroughs, towns, and parishes, in all the different parts of the kingdom, without distinction of Whig or Tory, episcopalian or presbyterian. The Earl of Buchan for the peers, Lockhart of Carnwarth for the barons, Sir Walter Stuart in behalf of the peers, barons, and boroughs; the Earls of Errol and Marischal for themselves, as high-constable and earl-marshal of the kingdom, protested severally against the treaty of union.

§ IX. While this opposition raged within doors, the resentment of the people rose to transports of fury and revenge. The more rigid presbyterians, known by the name of Cameronians, chose officers, formed themselves into regiments, provided horses, arms, and ammunition, and marching to Dumfries, burned the articles of the union at the market-cross, justifying their conduct in a public declaration. They made a tender of their attachment to Duke Hamilton, from whom they received encouragement in secret. They reconciled themselves to the episcopalians and the cavaliers: They resolved to take the route to Edinburgh, and dissolve the parliament; while the Duke of Athol undertook to secure

the pass of Sterling with his Highlanders, so as to open the communication between the western and northern parts of the kingdom. Seven or eight thousand men were actually ready to appear in arms at the town of Hamilton, and march directly to Edinburgh, under the Duke's command, when that nobleman altered his opinion, and dispatched private couriers through the whole country, requiring the people to defer their meeting till further direction. The more sanguine cavaliers accused his grace of treachery: but in all likelihood he was actuated by prudential motives. He alledged, in his own excuse, that the nation was not in a condition to carry on such an enterprize, especially as the English had already detached troops to the border, and might in a few days have waisted over a considerable re-enforcement from Holland. During this commotion among the Cameronians, the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow were filled with tumults. Sir Patrick Johnston, provost of Edinburgh, who had been one of the commissioners for the union, was besieged in his own house by the populace, and would have been torn in pieces, had not the guards dispersed the multitude. The privy-council issued a proclamation against riots, commanding all persons to retire from the streets whenever the drum should beat; ordering the guards to fire upon those who should disobey this command, and indemnifying them from all prosecution for maiming or slaying the lieges. These guards were placed all round the house in which the Peers and Commons were assembled, and the council received the thanks of the parliament, for having

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thus provided for their safety. Notwithstanding these precautions of the government, the commissioner was constantly saluted with the curses and imprecations of the people as he passed along: his guards were pelted; and some of his attendants wounded with stones, as they sat by him in the coach, so that he was obliged to pass through the streets on full gallop.

§ X. Against all this national fury, the Dukes of Queensberry and Argyle, the Earls of Montrose, Seafield, and Stair, and the other noblemen attached to the union, acted with equal prudence and resolution. They argued strenuously against the objections that were started in the house. They magnified the advantages that would accrue to the kingdom from the privileges of trading to the English plantations, and being protected in their commerce by a powerful navy; as well as from the exclusion of a popish pretender, who they knew was odious to the nation in general. They found means, partly by their promises, and partly by corruption, to bring over the Earls of Roxburgh and Marchmont, with the whole squadron who had hitherto been unpropitious to the court. They disarmed the resentment of the clergy, by promoting an act to be inserted in the union, declaring the presbyterian discipline to be the only government of the church of Scotland, unalterable in all succeeding times, and a fundamental article of the treaty. They soothed the African company with the prospect of being indemnified for the losses they had sustained. They amused individuals with the hope of sharing the rest of the equivalent. They employed emissaries to allay the ferment among the Cameronians,

and disunite them from the cavaliers, by canting, praying, and demonstrating the absurdity, sinfulness, and danger of such a coalition. These remonstrances were re-enforced by the sum of twenty thousand pounds, which the Queen privately lent to the Scottish treasury, and which was now distributed by the ministry in such a manner as might best conduce to the success of the treaty. By these practices they diminished, though they could not silence the clamor of the people, and obtained a considerable majority in parliament, which out-voted all opposition. Not but that the Duke of Queensberry at one time despaired of succeeding, and being in continual apprehension for his life, expressed a desire of adjourning the parliament, until by time and good management he should be able to remove those difficulties that then seemed to be insurmountable. But the Lord-Treasurer Godolphin, who foresaw that the measure would be entirely lost by delay, and was no judge of the difficulties, insisted upon his proceeding. It was at this period that he remitted the money, and gave directions for having forces ready at a call, both in England and Ireland. At length the Scottish parliament approved and ratified all the articles of the union, with some small variation. Then they prepared an act for regulating the election of the sixteen peers and forty-five commoners to represent Scotland in the British parliament. This being touched with the sceptre, the three estates proceeded to elect their representatives. The remaining part of the session was employed in making regulations concerning the coin, in examining the

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accounts of their African company, and providing for the due application of the equivalent, which was scandalously misapplied. On the twenty-fifth day of March the commissioner adjourned the parliament, after having in a short speech taken notice of the honor they had acquired in concluding an affair of such importance to their country. Having thus accomplished the great purpose of the court, he set out for London, in the neighbourhood of which he was met by above forty noblemen in their coaches, and about four hundred gentlemen on horseback. Next day he waited upon the Queen at Kensington, from whom he met with a very gracious reception. Perhaps there is not another instance upon record of a ministry's having carried a point of this importance against such a violent torrent of opposition, and contrary to the general sense and inclination of a whole exasperated people. The Scots were persuaded that their trade would be destroyed, their nation oppressed, and their country ruined, in consequence of the union with England; and indeed their opinion was supported by very plausible arguments. The majority of both nations believed that the treaty would produce violent convulsions, or at best prove ineffectual. But we now see it has been attended with none of the calamities that were prognosticated; that it quietly took effect, and fully answered all the purposes for which it was intended. Hence we may learn, that many great difficulties are surmounted, because they are not seen by those who direct the execution of any great project; and that many schemes, which theory deems impracticable, will yet succeed in the experiment.

§ XI. The English parliament assembling on the third day of December, the Queen, in her speech to both Houses, congratulated them on the glorious successes of her arms. She desired the Commons would grant such supplies as might enable her to improve the advantages of this successful campaign. She told them that the treaty of union, as concluded by the commissioners of both kingdoms, was at that time under the consideration of the Scottish parliament; and she recommended dispatch in the public affairs, that both friends and enemies might be convinced of the firmness and vigor of their proceedings. The parliament was perfectly well disposed to comply with all her Majesty's requests. Warm addresses were presented by both Houses. Then they proceeded to the consideration of the supply, and having examined the estimates in less than a week, voted near six millions for the service of the ensuing year. Nevertheless, in examining the accounts, some objections arose. They found that the extraordinary supplies for the support of King Charles of Spain amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds more than the sums provided by parliament. Some members argued that very ill consequences might ensue, if a ministry could thus run the nation in debt, and expect the parliament should pay the money. The courtiers answered, that if any thing had been raised without necessity, or ill-applied, it was reasonable that those who were in fault should be punished: but, as this expense was incurred to improve advantages, at a time when the occasion could not be communicated to parliament, the ministry was rather to be

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applauded for their zeal, than condemned for their liberality. The question being put, the majority voted that those sums had been expended for the preservation of the Duke of Savoy, for the interest of King Charles against the common enemy, and for the safety and honor of the nation. When the Speaker presented the money-bills, he told her, that as the glorious victory obtained by the Duke of Marlborough at Ramillies was fought before it could be supposed the armies were in the field, so it was no less surprising that the Commons had granted supplies to her Majesty, before the enemy could well know that the parliament was sitting. — The general was again honored with the thanks of both Houses. The lords in an address, besought the Queen to settle his honors on his posterity. An act was passed for this purpose; and, in pursuance of another address from the Commons, a pension of five thousand pounds out of the Post-Office, was settled upon him and his descendants. The Lords and Commons having adjourned themselves to the last day of December, the Queen closed the year with triumphal processions. As the standards and colors taken at Blenheim had been placed in Westminster-hall, so now those that had been brought from the field of Ramillies were put up in Guildhall, as trophies of that victory. About this time, the Earls of Kent, Lindsey, and Kingston were raised to the rank of marquisses. The Lords Wharton, Poulet, Godolphin, and Cholmondeley were created earls. Lord Walden, son and heir apparent to the Earl of Suffolk, obtained the title of Earl of Bindon: the Lord Keeper Cowper and Sir Thomas Pelham were ennobled as barons.

§ XII. The parliament being assembled after their short recess, the Earl of Nottingham moved for an address to the Queen, desiring her Majesty would order the proceedings of the commissioners for the union, as well as those of the Scottish parliament on the said subject, to be laid before them. He was seconded by the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Rochester; and answered by the Earl of Godolphin, who told them they needed not doubt but that her Majesty would communicate those proceedings, as soon as the Scottish parliament should have discussed the subject of the union. The Lords Wharton, Somers, and Halifax observed, that it was for the honor of the nation that the treaty of union should first come ratified from the parliament of Scotland; and that then, and not before, it would be a proper time for the Lords to take it into consideration. On the twenty-eighth day of January, the Queen in person told both Houses, that the treaty of union, with some additions and alterations, was ratified by an act of the Scottish parliament; that she had ordered it to be laid before them; and hoped it would meet with their concurrence and approbation. She desired the Commons would provide for the payment of the equivalent, in case the treaty should be approved. She observed to both Houses, that now they had an opportunity of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms; and that she should look upon it as a particular happiness, if this great work, which had been so often attempted without success, could be brought to perfection in her reign. When the Commons formed themselves into a committee of the whole House,

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to deliberate on the articles of the union, and the Scottish act of ratification, the Tory-party, which was very weak in that assembly, began to start some objections. Sir John Packington disapproved of this incorporating union, which he likened to a marriage with a woman against her consent. He said it was an union carried on by corruption and bribery within doors, by force and violence without: that the promoters of it had basely betrayed their trust, in giving up their independent constitution, and he would leave it to the judgment of the House, to consider, whether or no, men of such principles were fit to be admitted into their House of representatives. He observed, that her Majesty, by the coronation-oath, was obliged to maintain the church of England as by law established; and likewise bound by the same oath to defend the presbyterian kirk of Scotland in one and the same kingdom. Now (said he) after this union is in force, who shall administer this oath to her Majesty? It is not the business of the Scots, who are incapable of it, and no well-wishers to the church of England. It is then only the part of the bishops to do it; and can it be supposed that those reverend persons will, or can, act a thing so contrary to their own order and institution, as thus to promote the establishment of the presbyterian church-government in the united kingdom. He added that the church of England being established *jure divino*, and the Scots pretending that the kirk was also *jure divino*, he could not tell how two nations that clashed in so essential an article could unite: he,

therefore, thought it proper to consult the convocation about this principal point. A motion was made, that the first article of the treaty, which implies a peremptory agreement to an incorporating union should be postponed; and that the House should proceed to the consideration of the terms of the intended union, contained in the other articles. This proposal being rejected, some Tory-members quitted the House; and all the articles were examined and approved without further opposition. The Whigs were so eager in the prosecution of this point, that they proceeded in a very superficial manner, and with such precipitation as furnished their enemies with a plausible pretence to affirm that they had not considered the treaty with the coolness and deliberation which an affair of this importance required.

§ XIII. Before the Lords began to investigate the articles of the union, they, at the instance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, brought in a bill for the security of the church of England, to be inserted as a fundamental and essential part of the treaty. It passed through both Houses without opposition, and received the royal assent. On the fifteenth day of February, the debates concerning the union began in the House of Lords, the Queen being present, and the Bishop of Sarum chairman of the committee. The Earls of Rochester, Anglesey, and Nottingham argued against the union; as did the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Lord Haverham, in a premeditated harangue, said the question was, Whether two nations independent in their sovereignties, that had their distinct laws and interests, their different forms of

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worship, church-government, and order, should be united into one kingdom? He supposed it an union made up of so many mismatched pieces, of such jarring, incongruous ingredients, that should it ever take effect, it would carry the necessary consequences of a standing power and force, to keep them from falling asunder and breaking in pieces every moment. He repeated what had been said by Lord Bacon, that an unity pieced up by direct admission of contrarities in the fundamental points of it, is like the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, which were made of iron and clay: they may cleave together, but would never incorporate. He dissented from the union for the sake of the good old English constitution, in which he dreaded some alteration from the additional weight of sixty-one Scottish members, and these too returned by a Scottish privy-council. He took notice, that above one hundred Scottish peers, and as many Commoners, were excluded from sitting and voting in parliament, though they had as much right of inheritance to sit there, as any English peer had of sitting in the parliament of England. He expressed his apprehension of this precedent; and asked what security any peer of England had for his right and privilege of peerage, which those lords had not. He said, if the bishops would weaken their own cause, so far as to give up the two great points of episcopal ordination and confirmation; if they would approve and ratify the act for securing the presbyterian church-government in Scotland, as the true protestant religion and purity of worship; they must give up that which had been contended for between them and the

presbyterians for thirty years, and been defended by the greatest and most learned men in the church of England. He objected to the exempting articles, by which heritable offices and superiorities were reserved. He affirmed that the union was contrary to the sense of the Scottish nation: that the murmurs of the people had been so loud as to fill the whole kingdom; and so bold as to reach even to the doors of the parliament; that the parliament itself had suspended their beloved clause in the act of security for arming the people: that the government had issued a proclamation, pardoning all slaughter, bloodshed, and maiming, committed upon those who should be found in tumults. From these circumstances he concluded, that the Scottish nation was averse to an incorporating union, which he looked upon as one of the most dangerous experiments to both nations. Lord North and Grey complained of the small and unequal proportion of the land-tax imposed upon Scotland. The Earl of Nottingham said it was highly unreasonable that the Scots, who were by the treaty let into all the branches of the English trade, and paid so little towards the expense of the government, should moreover have such a round sum by way of equivalent. The same topics were insisted upon by the Lords North and Grey, Guernsey, Granville, Stawel, and Abingdon. The Earl of Nottingham, after having opposed every article separately, concluded with words to this effect: "As Sir John Maynard said to the late King at the Revolution, that having buried all his contemporaries in Westminster-hall, he was afraid, if his Majesty had not

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“ come in that very juncture of time, he might have
 “ likewise outlived the very laws; so, if this union
 “ do pass, as I have no reason to doubt it will, I
 “ may justly affirm I have outlived all the laws, and
 “ the very constitution of England: I, therefore,
 “ pray to God to avert the dire effects which may
 “ probably ensue from such an incorporating union.”

§ XIV. These arguments and objections were answered by the Lord-Treasurer Godolphin, the Earls of Sunderland and Wharton, the Lords Townshend, Hallifax, and Somers, the Bishops of Oxford, Norwich and Sarum. They observed, that such an important measure could not be effected without some inconveniencies; but that these ought to be borne, in consideration of the greatness of the advantage: that the chief dangers to which the church was exposed arose from France and popery; and this union would effectually secure it against these evils: that Scotland lay on the weakest side of England, which could not be defended but by an expensive army. Should a war break out between the two nations, and Scotland be conquered, yet even in that case it would be necessary to keep it under with a standing army, which any enterprising prince might model for his ambitious purposes, and joining with the Scots, enslave his English dominions: that any union after a conquest would be compulsive, consequently of short duration; whereas now it was voluntary it would be lasting: that with regard to ecclesiastical affairs, all heats and animosities might be allayed by soft and gentle management. The cantons of Switzerland, though they professed different

religions, were yet united in one general body; and the diet of Germany was composed of princes and states, among whom three different persuasions prevailed; so that two sorts of discipline might very well subsist under one legislature. If there was any danger on either side, it threatened the Scots much more than the English, as five hundred and thirteen members would certainly be too hard for forty-five; and in the House of Lords, six-and-twenty bishops would always preponderate against sixteen peers from Scotland. Notwithstanding all the opposition made by the lords of the Tory-interest, every article was approved by a great majority, though not without a good number of protestations; and a bill of ratification was prepared in the Lower House by Sir Simon Harcourt, the solicitor-general, in such an artful manner as to prevent all debates. All the articles, as they passed in Scotland, were recited by way of preamble, together with the acts made in both parliaments for the security of their several churches; and in conclusion there was one clause by which the whole was ratified and enacted into a law². By this contrivance, those who were desirous of starting new difficulties found themselves disabled from pursuing their design. They could not object to the recital, which was barely matter of fact; and they had not strength sufficient to oppose the general enacting clause. On the other hand, the Whigs promoted it with such zeal, that it passed by

² Burnet. Boyer. Quincy. Torcy. Tindal. Feuquieres. Hist. of Europe. Hist. of the D. of Marlborough. Conduct of the Dukes of Marlborough. Lockhart. Ker. Friend. Voltaire.

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I. others had recollected themselves from the surprise which the structure of the bill had occasioned. It made its way through the House of Lords with equal dispatch; and, when it received the royal sanction, the Queen expressed the utmost satisfaction. She said she did not doubt but it would be remembered and spoke of hereafter, to the honor of those who had been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. She desired that her subjects of both kingdoms should from henceforward behave with all possible respect and kindness towards one another, that so it might appear to all the world they had hearts disposed to become one people.

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§ XV. As the act of union did not take place till the first of May, a great number of traders in both kingdoms resolved to make advantage of this interval. The English proposed to export into Scotland such commodities as entitled them to a drawback, with a view to bring them back after the first of May. The Scots, on the other hand, as their duties were much lower than those in England, intended to import great quantities of wine, brandy, and other merchandise, which they could sell at a greater advantage in England after the union, when there would be a free intercourse between the two nations. Some of the ministers had embarked in this fraudulent design, which alarmed the merchants of England to such a degree, that they presented a remonstrance to the Commons. Resolutions were immediately taken in the House against these practices, and a bill was prepared: but the Lords apprehending that

that it in some measure infringed the articles of the union, and that it might give umbrage to the Scottish nation, it was dropped. The frauds had been in a good measure prevented by the previous resolutions of the House; and the first day of May was now at hand; so that the bill was thought unnecessary. On the twenty-fourth day of April the Queen prorogued the parliament, after having given them to understand, that she would continue by proclamation the Lords and Commons already assembled, as members in the first British parliament on the part of England, pursuant to the power vested in her by the acts of parliament of both kingdoms, ratifying the treaty of union. The parliament was accordingly revived by proclamation, and another issued to convoke the first parliament of Great-Britain for the twenty-third day of October. The Scots repaired to London, where they were well received by the Queen, who bestowed the title of duke on the Earls of Roxburgh and Montrose. She likewise granted a commission for a new privy-council in that kingdom, to be in force till the next session of parliament, that the nation might not be disgusted by too sudden an alteration of outward appearances. The first of May was appointed as a day of public thanksgiving; and congratulatory addresses were sent up from all parts of England: but the university of Oxford prepared no compliment; and the Scots were wholly silent on this occasion.

§ XVI. In the course of this session the Commons, in an address to the Queen, desired she would resettle the islands of St Christopher's and Nevis in the West-Indies, which had been ravaged by the enemy.

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They likewise resolved, That an humble address should be presented to her Majesty, praying she would concert measures for suppressing a body of pirates who had made a settlement on the island of Madagascar, as also for recovering and preserving the ancient possessions, trade, and fishery in Newfoundland. The French refugees likewise delivered a remonstrance to the Queen, recapitulating the benefits which the persecuted protestants in France had reaped from the assistance of her royal progenitors, acknowledging their own happiness in living under her gentle government, among a people by whom they had been so kindly entertained when driven from their native country; and imploring her Majesty's interposition and good offices in favor of their distressed and persecuted brethren abroad. She graciously received this address, declaring, she had always great compassion for the unhappy circumstances of the protestants in France: that she would communicate her thoughts on this subject to her allies; and she expressed her hope that such measures might be taken as should effectually answer the intent of their petition. In the month of May she granted an audience to an ambassador extraordinary from the Czar of Muscovy, who delivered a letter from his master, containing complaints of King Augustus, who had maltreated the Russian troops sent to his assistance, concluded a dishonorable peace with Charles King of Sweden, without the knowledge of his allies, and surrendered Count Patkul, the Muscovite minister, as a deserter, to the Swedish monarch, contrary to the law of nations, and even to the practice

of barbarians. He, therefore, desired her Britannic Majesty would use her good offices for the enlargement of the Count, and the other Russian prisoners detained at Stockholm; and that she would take into her protection the remains of the Russian auxiliaries upon the Rhine, that they might either enter into the service of the allies, or be at liberty to return in safety to their own country. The Queen actually interposed in behalf of Patkul: but her intercession proved ineffectual, and that unhappy minister was put to death with all the circumstances of wanton barbarity. As many severe and sarcastic writings had lately appeared, in which the Whigs and ministry were reviled, and reflections hinted to the prejudice of the Queen's person, the government resolved to make examples of the authors and publishers of these licentious productions. Dr. Joseph Browne was twice pilloried for a copy of verses, entitled, "The County-Parson's Advice to the Lord-Keeper," and a letter which he afterwards wrote to Mr. Secretary Harley. William Stephens, rector of Sutton in Surrey, underwent the same sentence, as author of a pamphlet, called, "A Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the Church of England." Edward Ward was fined and set in the pillory, for having written a burlesque poem on the times, under the title of "Hudibras Redivivus;" and the same punishment was inflicted upon William Pittes, author of a performance, entitled, "The Case of the Church of England's Memorial fairly stated."

§ XVII. The Lower House of Convocation still continued to wrangle with their superiors; and

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though they joined the Upper House in a congratulatory address to the Queen on the success of her arms, they resolved to make application to the Commons against the union. The Queen being apprized of their design, desired the Archbishop to prorogue them for three weeks, before the expiration of which the act of union had passed in parliament. The Lower House delivered a representation to the bishops, in which they affirmed, no such prorogation had ever been ordered during the session of parliament. The bishops found in their records seven or eight precedents of such prorogations, and above thirty instances of the Convocation having sat sometimes before, and sometimes after a session of parliament, nay, sometimes even when the parliament was dissolved. The Queen, informed of these proceedings, wrote a letter to the Archbishop, intimating, that she looked upon the Lower House as guilty of an invasion of her royal supremacy; and that, if any thing of the same nature should be attempted for the future, she would use such means for punishing offenders as the law warranted. The Prolocutor absenting himself from the Convocation, the Archbishop pronounced sentence of contumacy against him. The Lower House in a protestation declared this sentence unlawful and altogether null. Nevertheless, the Prolocutor made a full submission, with which the Archbishop was satisfied, and the sentence was repealed. About this period the Earl of Sunderland was appointed one of the secretaries of state, in the room of Sir Charles Hedges. This change was not effected without great opposition from Harley, who was

in his heart an enemy to the Duke of Marlborough, and all his adherents; and had already, by his secret intrigues, made considerable progress in a scheme for superseding the influence of the Dukes.

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§ XVIII. The French King at this juncture seemed to be entirely abandoned by his former good fortune. He had sustained such a number of successive defeats as had drained his kingdom of people; and his treasury was almost exhausted. He endeavoured to support the credit of his government by issuing mint-bills, in imitation of the bank-notes of England: but, notwithstanding all his precautions, they passed at a discount of three-and-fifty per cent. The lands lay uncultivated: the manufactures could be no longer carried on; and the subjects perished with famine. The allies, on the other hand, seemed to prosper in every quarter. They had become masters of the greatest part of the Netherlands, in consequence of the victory at Ramillies: the army of King Charles was considerably re-enforced: a scheme was formed for the conquest of Toulon, by the troops of the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, supplied with a large sum of money by Queen Anne, and assisted by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel. In a word, France seemed to be reduced to the verge of destruction, from which nothing in all probability could have saved her but the jealousy and misconduct of the confederates. Louis, by virtue of his capitulation with the Emperor in Italy, was enabled to send such reinforcements into Spain, as turned the fortune of

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the war in that country ; while the distractions in the council of King Charles prevented that unanimity and concurrence, without which no success can be expected. The Earl of Peterborough declared against an offensive war, on account of the difficulty of finding subsistence in Castile ; and advised Charles to trust to the expedition against Toulon. This opinion he sent from Italy, to which he had withdrawn.

§ XIX. Charles, however, was persuaded to penetrate once more to Madrid, and give battle to the enemy wherever they should appear. On the thirteenth day of March the army was assembled at Caudela, to the number of sixteen thousand men, under the auspices of the Marquis das Minas, to whom the Earl of Galway was second in command. They marched towards Yecla, and undertook the siege of Vileña ; but, having received intelligence that the Duke of Berwick was in the neighbourhood, they advanced on the fourteenth day of April in four columns towards the town of Almanza, where the enemy were drawn up in order of battle, their number being considerably superior to that of the confederates. The battle began about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The English and Dutch squadrons on the left, sustained by the Portuguese horse of the second line, were overpowered after a gallant resistance. The centre, consisting chiefly of battalions from Great-Britain and Holland, obliged the enemy to give way, and drove their first upon their second line : but the Portuguese cavalry on the right being broken at the first charge,

their foot betook themselves to flight; so that the English and Dutch troops being left naked on the flanks, were surrounded and attacked on every side. In this dreadful emergency they formed themselves into a square, and retired from the field of battle. By this time the men were quite spent with fatigue, and all their ammunition exhausted: they were ignorant of the country, abandoned by their horse, destitute of provision, and cut off from all hope of supply. Moved by these dismal considerations they capitulated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to the amount of thirteen battalions. The Portuguese, and part of the English horse, with the infantry that guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira, where they were joined by the Earl of Galway, with about five-and-twenty hundred dragoons which he had brought from the field of battle. About three thousand men of the allied army were killed upon the spot, and among that number Brigadier Killigrew, with many officers of distinction. The Earl of Galway, who charged in person at the head of Guiscard's dragoons, received two deep cuts in the face. The Marquis das Minas was run through the arm, and saw his concubine, who fought in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his side: the Lords Tyrawley, Mark Ker, and Colonel Clayton, were wounded: all their artillery, together with a hundred and twenty colors and standards, and about ten thousand men, were taken; so that no victory could be more complete: yet it was not purchased without the loss of two thousand men slain in the action, including some officers of eminence. The

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Duke of Berwick, who commanded the troops of King Philip, acquired a great addition of fame by his conduct and behaviour before and during the engagement: but his authority was superseded by the Duke of Orleans, who arrived in the army immediately after the battle. This prince seemed to entertain some private views of his own; for he took no effectual step to improve the victory. He began a private negociation with the Earl of Galway, during which the two armies lay inactive on the banks of the Cinca; and he concluded the campaign with the siege of Lerida, which was surrendered by capitulation on the second day of November: then the troops on both sides went into winter-quarters. The Earl of Galway and the Marquis das Minas embarked at Barcelona for Lisbon, and General Carpenter remained commander of the English forces quartered in Catalonia, which was now the only part of Spain that remained to King Charles.

§ XX. The attempt upon Toulon by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene might have succeeded, if the Emperor, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the maritime powers, had not divided his army in Italy, by detaching a considerable body through the ecclesiastical state towards Naples, of which he took possession without any difficulty. Besides, ten thousand recruits destined for the Imperial forces in Italy were detained in Germany, from an apprehension of the King of Sweden, who remained in Saxony, and seemed to be upon very indifferent terms with the Emperor. With the assistance of the English and Dutch fleets, the Duke

of Savoy and Prince Eugene passed the Var³ on the eleventh day of July, at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, and marched directly towards Toulon, whither the artillery and ammunition were conveyed on board of the combined squadrons. The French King was extremely alarmed at this attempt, as five thousand pieces of cannon, vast magazines, and the best part of his fleet, were in the harbour of Toulon, and run the greatest risque of being entirely taken or destroyed. The whole kingdom of France was filled with consternation, when they found their enemies were in the bosom of their country. The monarch resolved to leave no stone unturned for the relief of the place, and his subjects exerted themselves in a very extraordinary manner for its preservation. The nobility of the adjacent provinces armed their servants and tenants, at the head of whom they marched into the city: they coined their plate, and pawned

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³ This passage was effected to the astonishment of the French, who thought the works they had raised on that river were impregnable. The honor of the enterprise was in a great measure owing to the gallantry of Sir John Norris and the English seamen. That brave officer, embarking in boats with six hundred sailors and mariners, entered the river, and were rowed within musket-shot of the enemy's works, where they made such a vigorous and unexpected attack, that the French were immediately driven from part of their intrenchments: then Sir John landed with his men, clambered over the works that were deemed inaccessible, and attacking the defendants sword in hand, compelled them to fly with the utmost precipitation. This detachment was sustained by Sir Cloudesly Shovel in person. The Duke of Savoy, taking advantage of the enemy's consternation, passed the river almost without opposition.

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their jewels for money to pay the workmen employed upon the fortifications; and such industry was used, that in a few days the town and harbour, which had been greatly neglected, were put in a good posture of defence. The allies took possession of the eminences that commanded the city, and the ordnance being landed, erected batteries. From these they began to cannonade and bombard the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole; and co-operated in the siege with their great guns and bomb-ketches. The garrison was numerous, and defended the place with great vigor. They sunk ships in the entrance to the mole: they kept up a prodigious fire from the ramparts: they made desperate sallies, and even drove the besiegers from one of their posts with great slaughter. The French King, alarmed at this design of his enemies, ordered troops to march towards Toulon from all parts of his dominions. He countermanded the forces that were on their route to improve the victory of Almanza: a great part of the army under Villars on the Rhine was detached to Provence, and the court of Versailles declared, that the Duke of Burgundy should march at the head of a strong army to the relief of Toulon. The Duke of Savoy being apprized of these preparations, seeing no hope of reducing the place, and being apprehensive that his passage would be intercepted, resolved to abandon his enterprize. The artillery being re-embarked, with the sick and wounded, he decamped in the night, under favor of a terrible bombardment and cannonading

from the English fleet, and retreated to his own country without molestation*. Then he undertook the reduction of Suza, the garrison of which surrendered at discretion. By this conquest he not only secured the key to his own dominions, but also opened to himself a free passage into Dauphiné.

§ XXI. Sir Cloudesly Shovel having left a squadron with Sir Thomas Dilkes for the Mediterranean service, set sail for England with the rest of the fleet, and was in soundings on the twenty-second day of October. About eight o'clock at night his own ship, the Association, struck upon the rocks of Scilly, and perished with every person on board. This was likewise the fate of the Eagle and the Romney: the Firebrand was dashed in pieces on the rocks; but the captain and four-and-twenty men saved themselves in the boat: the Phoenix was driven on shore: the Royal Anne was saved by the presence of mind and uncommon dexterity of Sir George Byng and his officers: the St. George, commanded by Lord Dursley, struck upon the rocks, but a wave set her a-float again. The Admiral's body being cast a-shore was stripped and buried in the sand; but afterwards discovered and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and interred in Westminster-abbey. Sir Cloudesly Shovel was born

* Had the Duke of Savoy marched with expedition from the Var, he would have found Toulon defenceless: but he lingered in such a manner as gives reason to believe he was not hearty in the enterprise; and his operations were retarded by a difference between him and his kinsman Prince Eugene.

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I. raised himself to the chief command at sea, by
1707. his industry, valor, skill, and integrity. On the
 Upper Rhine the Allies were unprosperous'. The
 Prince of Baden was dead, and the German army

' In the month of May three ships of the line, namely the Royal Oak, of seventy-six guns, commanded by Commodore Baron Wylde, the Grafton, of seventy-guns, Captain Edward Acton; and the Hampton-Court, of seventy guns. Captain George Clements, sailed as convoy to the West-India and Portugal-fleet of merchant-ships, amounting to five-and-fifty sail. They fell in with the Dunkirk-squadron, consisting of ten ships of war, one frigate, and four privateers, under the command of M. de Forbin. A furious action immediately ensued, and notwithstanding the vast disproportion in point of number, was maintained by the English Commodore with great gallantry, until Captain Acton was killed, Captain Clements mortally wounded, and the Grafton and Hampton-Court were taken, after having sunk the Salisbury, at that time in the hands of the French: then the Commodore, having eleven feet water in his hold, disengaged himself from the enemy, by whom he had been surrounded, and ran his ship aground near Dungenesse; but she afterwards floated, and he brought her safe into the Downs. In the mean time the French frigate and privateers made prize of twenty-one English merchant-ships of great value, which, with the Grafton and Hampton-Court, Forbin conveyed in triumph to Dunkirk. In July the same active officer took fifteen ships belonging to the Russia company, off the coast of Lapland. In September he joined another squadron fitted out at Brest, under the command of the celebrated M. du Guai Trouin, and these attacked, off the Lizard, the convoy of the Portugal-fleet, consisting of the Cumberland, Captain Richard Edwards, of eighty guns; the Devonshire, of eighty; the Royal Oak, of seventy-six; the Chester and Ruby, of fifty guns each. Though the French squadron did not fall short of twelve sail of the line, the English captains maintained

so inconsiderable, that it could not defend the lines of Buhl against the Mareschal de Villars, who broke through this work, esteemed the rampart of Germany, reduced Rastadt, defeated a body of horse, laid the duchy of Wirtemberg under contribution, took Stutgard and Schorndorf; and routed three thousand Germans intrenched at Lorch, under the command of General Janus, who was made prisoner. In all probability, this active officer would have made great progress towards the restoration of the Elector of Bavaria, had not he been obliged to stop in the middle of his career, in consequence of his army's being diminished by sending off detachments to Provence. The Imperial army retired towards Heilborn, and the command of it was, at the request of the Emperor and allies, assumed

the action for many hours with surprising valor. At length the Devonshire was obliged to yield to superior numbers: the Cumberland blew up; the Chester and Ruby were taken; the Royal Oak fought her way through the midst of her enemies, and arrived safe in the harbour of Kinsale; and the Lisbon-fleet saved themselves, by making the best of their way during the engagement. Since the battle off Malaga the French King had never dared to keep the sea with a large fleet, but carried on a kind of piratical war of this sort, in order to distress the trade of England. He was the more encouraged to pursue these measures, by the correspondence which his ministers carried on with some wretches belonging to the Admiralty, and other offices, who basely betrayed their country in transmitting to France such intelligence concerning the convoys appointed for the protection of commerce, as enabled the enemy to attack them at advantage. In the course of this year the French fishery, stages, ships, and vessels in Newfoundland were taken, burned, and destroyed, by Captain John Underdown, of the Falkland.

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by the Elector of Hanover, who restored military discipline, and acted with uncommon prudence and circumspection: but he had not force sufficient to undertake any enterprise of importance.

§ XXII. In the month of April the Duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague for Leipfick, with a letter from the Queen to Charles XII. of Sweden, whose designs were still so mysterious, that the confederates could not help being alarmed at his being in the heart of Germany. The Duke was pitched upon as the most proper ambassador, to sooth his vanity and penetrate into his real intention⁶. He found this original character, not simple, but sordid in his appearance and economy, savage in his deportment, ferocious, illiterate, stubborn, implacable, and reserved. The English general assailed him on the side of his vanity, the only part by which he was accessible. "Sire" said he "I present to your Majesty a letter, not from the Chancery, but from the heart of the Queen my mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented her from taking so long a journey, she would have crossed the sea to see a prince admired by the whole universe. I esteem myself happy in having the honor of

⁶ When the Duke arrived in his coach at the quarters of Count Piper, of whom he had demanded an audience, he was given to understand that the Count was busy, and obliged to wait half an hour before the Swedish minister came down to receive him. When he appeared at last, the Duke alighted from his coach, put on his hat, passed the Count without saluting him, and went aside to the wall, where having staid some time, he returned, and accosted him with the most polite address.

“ assuring your Majesty of my regard ; and I should
 “ think it a great happiness, if my affairs would
 “ allow me to learn under so great a general as
 “ your Majesty, what I want to know in the art
 “ of war.” Charles was pleased with this overstrained
 compliment, which seems to have been calculated
 for a raw, unintelligent barbarian, unacquainted
 with the characters of mankind. He professed par-
 ticular veneration for Queen Anne, as well as for
 the person of her ambassador, and declared he
 would take no steps to the prejudice of the grand
 alliance. Nevertheless, the sincerity of this decla-
 ration has been questioned. The French court is
 said to have gained over his minister, Count Piper,
 to their interest. Certain it is, he industriously
 sought occasion to quarrel with the Emperor, and
 treated him with great insolence, until he submitted
 to all his demands. The treaty being concluded
 upon the terms he thought proper to impose, he
 had no longer the least shadow of pretence to con-
 tinue his disputes with the court of Vienna ; and
 therefore began his march for Poland, which was
 by this time over-run by the Czar of Muscovy.

§ XXIII. The Duke of Marlborough returning
 from Saxony, assembled the allied army at Ander-
 lach near Brussels, about the middle of May ; and,
 understanding that the Elector of Bavaria and the
 Duke de Vendome, who commanded the French
 forces, had quitted their lines, he advanced to
 Soignies, with a design to engage them in the plain
 of Fleurus. But receiving certain intelligence, that
 the enemy were greatly superior to the allies in

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number, by the help of drafts from all their garrisons, he retreated towards Brussels, and took post at Mildert; while the French advanced to Gemblours. Both armies lay inactive until the enemy sent off a large detachment towards Provence. Then the Duke of Marlborough and General d'Auverquerque resolved to attack them in their fortified camp at Gemblours. But they retreated with such celerity from one post to another, that the confederates could not come up with them until they were safely encamped with their right at Pont-a-Tresin, and their left under the cannon of Lisle, covered with the river Schelde, and secured by intrenchments. The allies chose their camp at Helchin, and foraged under the cannon of Tournay, within a league of the enemy: but nothing could induce them to hazard an engagement; and both armies went into winter-quarters in the latter end of October. The Duke of Marlborough set out for Frankfort, where he conferred with the Electors of Mentz, Hanover, and Palatine, about the operations of the next campaign: then he returned to the Hague, and having concerted the necessary measures with the deputies of the States-General, embarked for England in the beginning of November.

§ XXIV. The Queen's private favor was now shifted to a new object. The Duchess of Marlborough was supplanted by Mrs. Masham, her own kinswoman, whom she had rescued from indigence and obscurity. This favorite succeeded to that ascendancy over the mind of her sovereign which the Duchess had formerly possessed. She was more humble, pliable, and

and obliging than her first patroness, who had played the tyrant, and thwarted the Queen in some of her most respected maxims. Her Majesty's prepossession in favor of the Tories and high-churchmen was no longer insolently condemned, and violently opposed. The new confidante conformed to all her prejudices, and encouraged all her designs with assent and approbation. In political intrigues she acted as associate, or rather auxiliary, to Mr. Secretary Harley, who had insinuated himself into the Queen's good graces; and determined to sap the credit of the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin. His aim was to unite the Tory-interest under his own auspices, and expel the Whigs from the advantages they possessed under the government. His chief coadjutor in this scheme was Henry St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, a man of warm imagination and elegant taste, penetrating, eloquent, ambitious, and enterprising, whose talents were rather specious than solid, and whose principles were loose and fluctuating. He was at first contented to act in an inferior capacity, subservient to the designs of the secretary: but, when he understood the full extent of his own parts and influence, he was fired with the ambition of eclipsing his principal, and from the sphere of his minister, raised himself to the character of his rival. These politicians, with the assistance of Sir Simon Harcourt, a colleague of uncommon ability and credit, exerted their endeavours to rally and reconcile the disunited Tories, who were given to understand, that the Queen could no longer bear the tyranny of the Whigs: that she had been

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1. manifest proof of her inclination. She accordingly
1707. bestowed the bishoprics of Chester and Exeter upon Sir William Dawes and Dr. Blackall, who, though otherwise of unblemished characters, had openly condemned the Revolution.

§ XXV. The people in general began to be sick of the Whig-ministry, whom they had formerly cared for. To them they imputed the burdens under which they groaned; burdens which they had hitherto been animated to bear by the pomp of triumph and uninterrupted success. At present they were discouraged by the battle of Almanza, the miscarriage of the expedition against Toulon, the loss of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, and the fate of four ships of the line, destroyed or taken by a squadron under the command of Messieurs Forbin and Du Guay Trouin, two of the most enterprising sea-officers in the French service. No new advantage had been obtained in the Netherlands: France, instead of sinking under the weight of the confederacy, seemed to rise with fresh vigor from every overthrow: the English traders had lately sustained repeated losses for want of proper convoys; the coin of the nation was visibly diminished; and the public credit began to decline. The Tories did not fail to inculcate and exaggerate these causes of discontent, and the ministry were too remiss in taking proper steps for the satisfaction of the nation. Instead of soothing by gentle measures, and equal administration, the Scots, who had expressed such aversion to the union, they treated them in such a

manner, as served to exasperate the spirits of that people. A stop was put to their whole commerce for two months before it was diverted into the new channel. Three months elapsed before the equivalent was remitted to that kingdom, and it was afterwards applied with the most shameful partiality. Seizures of wines and other merchandise imported from thence into England were made in all the northern parts with an affectation of severity and disdain: so that the generality of the Scottish nation loudly exclaimed against the union and the government. The Jacobites were again in commotion. They held conferences: they maintained a correspondence with the court of St. Germain's: a great number of the most rigid Whigs entered so far into their measures, as to think a revolution was absolutely necessary to retrieve the liberties, independence, and commerce of their country: the Pretender's birth-day was publicly celebrated in many different parts of the kingdom; and every thing seemed to portend an universal revolt. Ireland continued quiet under the administration of the Earl of Pembroke, whom the Queen had appointed lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. A parliament having met at Dublin in the month of July, presented addresses of congratulation to her Majesty on the late union of the two kingdom. The Commons having inspected the public accounts, resolved, That the kingdom had been put to excessive charge, by means of great arrears of rent returned by the late trustees, as due out of the forfeited estates, which returns were false and unjust; and, that an humble representation should be laid before her Majesty on this

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subject. They passed another laudable resolution in favor of their own manufactures. They granted the necessary supplies, and having finished several bills for the royal assent, were prorogued on the twenty-ninth day of October.

§ XXVI. It was on the twenty-third of the same month that the first parliament of Great-Britain assembled at Westminster, when the Queen in her speech to both Houses palliated the miscarriages in Provence and in Spain; represented the necessity of making further efforts against the common enemy; and exhorted them to be upon their guard against those who endeavoured to sow jealousies in the common-wealth. The Commons, in their address, expressed the continuance of their former zeal and devotion to her Majesty's government: but, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Wharton expatiated upon the scarcity of money, the decay of trade, the mismanagement of the navy. He was seconded by Lord Somers, and the leaders of the Tory-party, who proposed, that, previous to every measure, they should consider the state of the nation. The design of Wharton and Somers, was to raise the Earl of Orford once more to the head of the Admiralty; and the Tories, who did not perceive their drift, hoped in the course of the inquiry to fix the blame of all mismanagement upon the Whig-ministers. A day being fixed for this examination, the House received a petition from the sheriffs and merchants of London, complaining of great losses by sea, for want of cruisers and convoys; and these complaints were proved by witnesses. The report was sent to the

Lord-Admiral, who answered all the articles separately; then the Tories moved for an address, in which the blame of the miscarriages might be laid upon the ministry and cabinet-council: but the motion was over-ruled: the Queen was presented with a bare representation of the facts, and desired that she would take the proper measures for preventing such evils for the future. The Commons made some progress in an inquiry of the same nature; and brought in a bill for the better securing the trade of the kingdom. They cheerfully granted the supplies for the service of the ensuing year. They prepared another bill for repealing the Scottish act of security, and that about peace and war, which excited such jealousy in the English nation. They resolved, That there should be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great-Britain: That the militia of Scotland should be put on the same footing with that of England: That the powers of the justices of the peace should be the same through the whole island: That the lords of justiciary in Scotland should go circuits twice in the year: That the writs for electing Scottish members to serve in the House of Commons should be directed, and returns made, in the same manner as practised in England. An act being formed on these resolutions, they brought in a bill for preserving the trade with Portugal, then they considered the state of the war in Spain.

§ XXVII. When the Queen passed these bills, she recommended an augmentation in the aids and auxiliaries granted to the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy. This intimation produced a debate

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in the House of Lords, on the affairs of Spain. The services of the Earl of Peterborough were extolled by the Earl of Rochester and Lord Haversham, who levelled some oblique reflections at the Earl of Galway. Several Lords enlarged upon the necessity of carrying on the war until King Charles should be fully established upon the throne of Spain. The Earl of Peterborough said they ought to contribute nine shillings in the pound rather than make peace on any other terms: he declared himself ready to return to Spain, and serve even under the Earl of Galway. The Earl of Rochester repeated a maxim of the old Duke of Schomberg, That attacking France in the Netherlands was like taking a bull by the horns. He, therefore, proposed, that the allies should stand on the defensive in Flanders, and detach from thence fifteen or twenty thousand men into Catalonia. He was seconded by the Earl of Nottingham; but warmly opposed by the Duke of Marlborough, who urged, that the great towns in Brabant which he had conquered could not be preserved without a considerable number of men; and that if the French should gain any advantage in Flanders from their superiority in point of number, the discontented party in Holland, which was very numerous, and bore with impatience the burden of the war, would not fail crying aloud for peace. Being challenged by Rochester to show how troops could be procured for the service of Italy and Spain, he assured the House, that measures had been already concerted with the Emperor, for forming an army of forty thousand men under the Duke of Savoy, and for sending

powerful succours to King Charles. This declaration finished the debate, which issued in an affectionate address to her Majesty. The Lords resolved, That no peace could be safe and honorable for her Majesty and her allies, if Spain and the Spanish West-Indies were suffered to continue in the power of the House of Bourbon. They presented an address, in which they desired she would press the Emperor to send powerful succours to Spain, under the command of Prince Eugene, with all possible expedition, to make good his contract with the Duke of Savoy, and strengthen the army on the Rhine, which was now happily put under the conduct of that wise and valiant prince, the Elector of Hanover. The Commons concurred in this remonstrance, in consequence of which the Queen desired the Emperor to bestow the command of Spain upon Prince Eugene. The court of Vienna, however, did not comply with this request; but sent thither Count Staremberg, who, of all the German generals, was next to the Prince in military reputation. The Commons now proceeded to consider of ways and means, and actually established funds for raising the supply, which amounted to the enormous sum of six millions.

§ XXVIII. At this period Mr. Harley's character incurred suspicion, from the treachery of William Gregg, an inferior clerk of his office, who was detected in a correspondence with Monsieur Chamillard, the French King's minister. When his practices were detected, he made an ample confession, and pleading guilty to his indictment at the Old-Bailey, was condemned to death for high-treason. At the

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same time, John Bara and Alexander Valiere were committed to Newgate, for corresponding with the enemy; and Claude Baud, secretary to the Duke of Savoy's minister, was, at the request of his master, apprehended for traitorous practices against her Majesty and her government. A committee of seven lords being appointed to examine these delinquents, made a report to the House, which was communicated to the Queen, in an address, importing, that Gregg had discovered secrets of state to the French minister: that Alexander Valiere and John Bara had managed a correspondence with the governors and commissaries of Calais and Boulogne; and, in all probability, discovered to the enemy the stations of the British cruisers, the strength of their convoys, and the times at which the merchant-ships proceeded on their voyages; that all the papers in the office of Mr. Secretary Harley had been for a considerable time exposed to the view of the meanest clerks; and that the perusal of all the letters to and from the French prisoners had been chiefly trusted to Gregg, a person of a very suspicious character, and known to be extremely indigent. The Queen granted a reprieve to this man, in hope of his making some important discovery: but he really knew nothing of consequence to the nation. He was an indigent Scot, who had been employed as a spy in his own country, and now offered his services to Chamillard, with a view of being rewarded for his treachery: but he was discovered before he had reaped any fruits from his correspondence. As he had no secrets of importance

to impart, he was executed at Tyburn, where he delivered a paper to the sheriff, in which he declared Mr. Harley entirely ignorant of all his treasonable connexions, notwithstanding some endeavours that were made to engage him in an accusation of that minister.

§ XXIX. The Queen had refused to admit the Earl of Peterborough into her presence, until he should have vindicated his conduct, of which King Charles had complained in divers letters. He was eagerly desirous of a parliamentary inquiry. His military proceedings, his negociations, his disposal of the remittances were taken into consideration by both Houses: but he produced such a number of witnesses and original papers to justify every transaction, that his character triumphed in the inquiry, which was dropped before it produced any resolution in parliament. Then they took cognizance of the state of affairs in Spain, and found there had been a great deficiency in the English troops at the battle of Almanza. This, however, was explained so much to their satisfaction, that they voted an address to the Queen, thanking her for having taken measures to restore the affairs in Spain, and provide foreign troops for that service. The bill for rendering the union more complete met with a vigorous opposition in the House of Lords from the court-party, on account of the clause enacting, That, after the first of May, there should be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great-Britain. The ministry finding it was strenuously supported by all the Tories, and a considerable number of the other faction,

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would have compromised the difference, by proposing that the privy-council of Scotland should continue to the first day of October. They hinted this expedient, in hope of being able to influence the ensuing elections: but their design being palpable, the motion was over-ruled, and the bill received the royal assent: a court of Exchequer, however, was erected in Scotland upon the model of that in England. The execution of Gregg, and the examination of Valiere and Bara, who had acted as smugglers to the coast of France, under the protection of Harley, to whom they engaged for intelligence, affected the credit of that minister, who was reviled and traduced by the emissaries of the Whig-party. The Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, being apprized of his secret practices with Mr. Masham, wrote to the Queen, that they could serve her no longer; should Mr. Harley continue in the post of secretary. Being summoned to the cabinet-council, they waited on her in person, and expostulated on the same subject. She endeavoured to appease their resentment with soft persuasion, which had no effect; and when they retired from court, to the astonishment of all the spectators, she repaired in person to the council. There Mr. Secretary Harley began to explain the cause of their meeting, which was some circumstance relating to foreign affairs. The Duke of Somerset said he did not see how they could deliberate on such matters while the general and treasurer were absent: the other members observed a sullen silence; so that the council broke up, and the Queen found herself in danger of being abandoned by her

ministers. Next day her Majesty sent for the Duke of Marlborough, and told him that Harley should immediately resign his office, which was conferred upon Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the Exchequer: but she deeply resented the deportment of the Duke and the Earl of Godolphin, from whom she entirely withdrew her confidence. Sir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general, Sir Thomas Mansel, comptroller of the household, and Mr. St. John, relinquished their several posts upon the disgrace of Harley.

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§ XXX. The kingdom was at this period alarmed with a threatened invasion from France. The Court of St. Germain's had sent over one Colonel Hook with credentials to Scotland, to learn the situation, number, and ability of the Pretender's friends in that country. This minister, by his misconduct, produced a division among the Scottish Jacobites. Being a creature of the Duke of Perth, he attached himself wholly to the Duke of Athol, and those other zealous partisans who were bent upon receiving the Pretender without conditions; and he neglected the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl Marischal, and other adherents of that house, who adopted the more moderate principles avowed by the Earl of Middleton. At his return to France, he made such a favorable report of the disposition and power of the Scottish nation, that Louis resolved to equip an armament, and send over the Pretender to that kingdom. His pretence was to establish that prince on the throne of his ancestors: but his real aim was to make a division from the Netherlands, and excite a revolt in Great-Britain, which should hinder Queen Anne from

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I. began to make preparations for this expedition at
1707. Dunkirk, where a squadron was assembled under the command of the Chevalier de Forbin; and a body of land-forces were embarked with Mr. de Gace, afterwards known by the appellation of the Marechal de Matignon. The Pretender, who had assumed the name of the Chevalier de St. George, was furnished with services of gold and silver plate, sumptuous tents, rich clothes for his life-guards, splendid liveries, and all sorts of necessaries even to profusion. Louis at parting presented him with a sword studded with valuable diamonds, and repeated what he had formerly said to this adventurer's father: "He hoped he should never see him again." The Pope contributed to the expense of this expedition, and accommodated him with divers religious inscriptions, which were wrought upon his colors and standards. Queen Anne being informed of these preparations, and the design of the French monarch, communicated to the Commons the advices which she had received from Holland and the Netherlands, touching the destination of the Dunkirk-armament: both Houses concurred in an address, assuring her they would assist her Majesty with their lives and fortunes against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all her other enemies. Then they passed a bill, enacting, That the oath of abjuration should be tendered to all persons, and such as refused to take it should be in the condition of convicted recusants. By another, they suspended the Habeas Corpus act till October, with relation to persons apprehended by the government on suspicion of treasonable practices. The

Pretender and his adherents were proclaimed traitors and rebels; and a bill was passed, discharging the clans of Scotland from all vassalage to those chiefs who should take up arms against her Majesty. Transports were hired to bring over ten British battalions from Ostend: a large fleet being equipped with incredible diligence, sailed from Deal towards Dunkirk, under the conduct of Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, and Lord Dursley. The French imagined that Leake had sailed to Lisbon, and that Britain was unprovided of ships of war; so that they were amazed and confounded when this fleet appeared off Mardyke; a stop was immediately put to the embarkation of their troops: frequent expresses were dispatched to Paris: the Count de Forbin represented to the French King the little probability of succeeding in this enterprize, and the danger that would attend the attempt: but he received positive orders to embark the forces, and set sail with the first favorable wind.

§ XXXI. The British fleet being forced from their station by severe weather on the fourteenth day of March, the French squadron sailed on the seventeenth from the road of Dunkirk: but the wind shifting, it anchored in Newport-pits, till the nineteenth in the evening, when they set sail again with a fair breeze, steering their course for Scotland. Sir George Byng having received advice of their departure, from an Ostend-vessel sent out for that purpose by Major-General Cadogan, gave chase to the enemy, after having detached a squadron under Admiral Baker, to convoy the troops that were embarked at Ostend for England. On the tenth day of March, the

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Queen went to the House of Peers, where, in a speech to both Houses, she told them that the French fleet had failed; that Sir George Byng was in pursuit of them; and that ten battalions of her troops were expected every day in England. This intimation was followed by two very warm addresses from the Lords and Commons, in which they repeated their assurances of standing by her against all her enemies. They exhorted her to persevere in supporting the common cause, notwithstanding this petty attempt to disturb her dominions; and levelled some severe insinuations against those who endeavoured to foment jealousies between her Majesty and her most faithful servants. Addresses on the same occasion were sent up from different parts of the kingdom; so that the Queen seemed to look with contempt upon the designs of the enemy. Several regiments of foot, with some squadrons of cavalry, began their march for Scotland: the Earl of Leven, commander in chief of the forces in that country, and governor of the castle of Edinburgh, hastened thither to put that fortress in a posture of defence, and to make the proper dispositions to oppose the Pretender at his landing. But the vigilance of Sir George Byng rendered all these precautions unnecessary. He sailed directly to the frith of Edinburgh, where he arrived almost as soon as the enemy, who immediately took the advantage of a land-breeze, and bore away with all the sail they could carry. The English Admiral gave chase; and the Salisbury, one of their ships, was boarded and taken. At night Monsieur de Forbin altered his course; so that next day they were out of reach of the English squadron. The

Pretender desired they would proceed to the northward, and land him at Inverness, and Forbin seemed willing to gratify his request: but the wind changing, and blowing in their teeth with great violence, he represented the danger of attempting to prosecute the voyage; and, with the consent of the Chevalier de St. George and his general, returned to Dunkirk, after having been tossed about a whole month in very tempestuous weather. In the meantime, Sir George Byng sailed up to Leith-road, where he received the freedom of the city of Edinburgh in a golden box, as a testimony of gratitude for his having delivered them from the dreadful apprehensions under which they labored.

§ XXXII. Certain it is, the Pretender could not have chosen a more favorable opportunity for making a descent upon Scotland. The people in general were disaffected to the government on account of the union: the regular troops under Leven did not exceed five-and-twenty hundred men, and even great part of these would in all probability have joined the invader: the castle of Edinburgh was destitute of ammunition, and would in all appearance have surrendered at the first summons; in which case the Jacobites must have been masters of the equivalent money lodged in that fortress: a good number of Dutch ships loaded with cannon, small arms, ammunition, and a large sum of money, had been driven on shore in the shire of Angus, where they would have been seized by the friends of the Pretender, had the French troops been landed; and all the adherents of that house were ready to appear in arms. In England,

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such a demand was made upon the Bank, by those who favored the invasion, and those who dreaded a revolution, that the public credit seemed to be in danger. The Commons resolved, That whoever designedly endeavoured to destroy or lessen the public credit, especially at a time when the kingdom was threatened with an invasion, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, and an enemy to her Majesty and the kingdom. The Lord-Treasurer signified to the directors of the Bank, that her Majesty would allow, for six months, an interest of six per cent. upon their bills, which was double the usual rate; and considerable sums of money were offered to them by this nobleman, as well as by the Dukes of Marlborough, Newcastle, and Somerset⁷. The French, Dutch, and Jewish merchants, whose interest was in a peculiar manner connected with the safety of the Bank, exerted themselves for its support; and the directors having called in twenty per cent. upon their capital stock, were enabled to answer all the demands of the timorous and disaffected. All the noblemen and persons of distinction in Scotland, suspected of an attachment to the court of St. Germain's, were apprehended, and either imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, or brought up to London, to be confined in the Tower or in Newgate. Among these was the Duke of Hamilton, who found means to make his peace with the Whig-ministers; and in a little time, the other prisoners were admitted to bail⁸.

⁷ Burchet. Hare. Boyer. Lockhart. Feuquieres. Daniel. Hist. of the D. of Marlborough. Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. Friend. Burchet. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals. Voltaire.

⁸ The Camisars, or protestants, from the Cevennois, § XXXIII.

§ XXXIII. On the first day of April, the parliament was prorogued, and afterwards dissolved by

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having made their escape, and repaired to London, acquired about this time the appellation of French prophets, from their enthusiastic gesticulations, effusions, and convulsions; and even formed a sect of their countrymen. The French refugees, scandalized at their behaviour, and authorized by the Bishop of London, as superior of the French congregations, resolved to inquire into the mission of these pretended prophets, whose names were Elias Marion, John Cavalier, and Durand Fage. They were declared impostures and counterfeits. Notwithstanding this decision, which was confirmed by the bishops, they continued their assemblies in Soho, under the countenance of Sir Richard Bulkeley and John Lacy. They reviled the ministers of the established church: they denounced judgments against the city of London, and the whole British nation; and published their predictions, composed of unintelligible jargon. Then they were prosecuted at the expense of the French churches, as disturbers of the public peace, and false prophets. They were sentenced to pay a fine of twenty marks each, and stand twice on a scaffold, with papers on their breasts denoting their offence: a sentence which was executed accordingly at Charing-Cross, and the Royal-Exchange.

In the course of this year, Mr. Stanhope, who was resident from the Queen at the court of Charles, concluded a treaty of commerce with this monarch, which would have proved extremely advantageous to Great-Britain, had he been firmly established on the throne of Spain. It was stipulated that the English merchants should enjoy the privilege of importing all kinds of merchandise from the coast of Barbary into the maritime places of Spain, without paying any higher duty than if that merchandise had been the produce of Great-Britain; and that even these duties should not be paid till six months after the merchandise should be landed and sold, the merchants giving security for the customs. It was agreed that the whole commerce of the Spanish West-Indies should be carried on by a joint company of Spanish and British merchants; and in the interim, as the

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proclamation. Writs were issued out for new elections, together with a proclamation, commanding all the peers of North-Britain to assemble at Holyrood-house in Edinburgh, on the seventeenth day of June, to elect sixteen Peers to represent them in the ensuing British parliament, pursuant to the twenty-second article of the treaty of union. After the dissolution of the parliament, the Lords Griffin, Clermont, two sons of the Earl of Middleton, and several Scottish and Irish officers, who had been taken on board the Salisbury, were brought to London, and imprisoned in the Tower or in Newgate. Lord Griffin being attainted by outlawry, for high-treason committed in the reign of King William, was brought to the bar in the court of King's-Bench, and a rule made for his execution: but he was reprieved from month to month, until he died of a natural death in prison. The privy-council of Scotland was dissolved: the Duke of Queensberry was created a British peer, by the title of Baron of Rippon, Marquis of Beverly, and Duke of Dover; and the office of secretary at war, vacant by the resignation of Henry St. John, was bestowed upon Robert Walpole, a gentleman who had rendered himself considerable in the House of Commons, and whose conduct we shall have occasion to mention more at large in the sequel. About the same time a proclamation was issued for distributing prizes,

greater part of that country was in the hands of Philip, his competitor consented that the British subjects should trade freely in all the ports of the West-Indies with ten ships of five hundred tons each, under such convoy as her Britannic Majesty should think fit to appoint.

in certain proportions, to the different officers and seamen of the royal navy; a regulation that still prevails.

§ XXXIV. The French King, not at all discouraged by the miscarriage of his projected invasion, resolved to improve the advantages he had gained on the continent during the last campaign; and indeed he made efforts that were altogether incredible, considering the consumptive state of his finances⁹. He assembled a

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⁹ Before the opening of the campaign, a very daring enterprise was formed by one Colonel Queintern, a partisan in the Imperial army. This man laid a scheme for carrying off the Dauphin of France from the court of Versailles. He selected thirty men of approved valor for this undertaking. He procured passes for them, and they rendezvoused in the neighbourhood of Paris. On the twenty-fourth day of March, in the evening, he and his accomplices stopped a coach and six, with the King's liveries, and arrested the person who was in it, on the supposition of his being a prince of the blood. It was, however, M. de Berrighen, the King's first equerry. This officer they mounted on a spare horse, and set out for the Low Countries: but, being little acquainted with the roads, they did not reach Chantilly till next morning, when they heard the Tocsin, or alarm-bell, and thence concluded that detachments were sent out in pursuit of them. Nevertheless, they proceeded boldly, and would certainly have carried the point, had not Queintern halted three hours for the refreshment of his prisoner, who complained of his being indisposed. He likewise procured a chaise, and ordered the back of it to be lowered for his convenience. These acts of humanity retarded him so much, that he was overtaken by a detachment of horse at Ham, within three hours ride of a place of safety. Finding himself surrounded, he thought proper to surrender, and M. de Berrighen treated him with great generosity, for the civilities he had experienced at his hands. He carried him back to Versailles, and lodged him in his own apartments. Madame de Berrighen made him a considerable present: and the King ordered him and

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prodigious army in the Netherlands, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, assisted by Vendome, and accompanied by the Duke of Berry and the Chevalier de St. George. The Elector of Bavaria was destined to the command of the troops upon the Rhine, where he was seconded by the Duke of Berwick; and the Marechal de Villeroy was sent to conduct the forces in Dauphiné. About the latter end of March, the Duke of Marlborough repaired to the Hague, where he was met by Prince Eugene: these two celebrated generals conferred with the Pensionary Heinsius, and the deputies of the States-General. Then they made an excursion to Hanover, where they prevailed upon the Elector to be satisfied with acting upon the defensive in his command on the Rhine, and spare part of his forces, that the confederates might be enabled to make vigorous efforts in the Netherlands. The Prince proceeded to Vienna, and the Duke immediately returned to Flanders, where he assembled the army towards the latter end of May. On the twenty-fifth day of that month, the Duke de Vendome marched to Soignies, and posted himself within three leagues of the confederates, who were encamped at Billighen and Halle. The Duke of Marlborough having received intelligence that the enemy were on their march by Bois-Seigneur-Isaac to Braine la-Leuwe, concluded their intention was to take post on the banks of the Deule, to hinder the allies from passing that river, and to occupy Louvaine. He, therefore, commanded the army to march all night, his companions to be discharged, on account of the courage and humanity they had displayed.

and on the third day of June, encamped at Terbank, General D'Auverquerque fixing his quarters in the suburbs of Louvaine, while the French advanced no farther than Genapand Braine-la-Leuwe. As they were more numerous than the confederates, and headed by a prince of the blood, the generals of the allies at first expected that they would hazard a battle: but their scheme was to retrieve by stratagem the places they had lost in Flanders. The Elector of Bavaria had rendered himself extremely popular in the great towns: the Count de Bergeyck, who had considerable interest among them, was devoted to the House of Bourbon: the inhabitants of the great cities were naturally inconstant and mutinous, and particularly dissatisfied with the Dutch government. The French generals resolved to profit by these circumstances. A detachment of their troops under the Brigadiers la Faille and Pasteur, surprised the city of Ghent, in which there was no garrison: at the same time, the Count de la Motte, with a strong body of forces, appeared before Bruges, which was surrendered to him without opposition: then he made a fruitless attempt upon Damme, and marched to the little fort of Plassendhal, which he took by assault. The Duke of Marlborough was no sooner apprized of the enemy's having sent a strong detachment towards Tubize, than he marched from Terbank, passed the canal, and encamped at Anderlach. The French crossed the Senne at Halle and Tubize, and the allies resolved to attack them next morning: but the enemy passed the Dender in the night with great expedition; and the Duke of Marlborough next day encamped

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at Asche, where he was joined by Prince Eugene, who had marched with a considerable re-enforcement of Germans from the Moselle. The enemy understanding that this general was on his march, determined to reduce Oudenarde, the only pass on the Schelde possessed by the confederates; and invested it on the ninth day of July, hoping to subdue it before the allies could be re-enforced. The Duke of Marlborough was immediately in motion, and made a surprising march from Asche, as far as Herfelingen, where he was joined by the re-enforcement. Then he took possession of the strong camp at Lessines, which the French had intended to occupy, in order to cover the siege of Oudenarde.

§ XXXV. Thus disappointed, the French generals altered their resolution, abandoned Oudenarde, and began to pass the Schelde at Gavre. The two generals of the confederates were bent upon bringing them to an engagement. Cadogan was sent with sixteen battalions and eight squadrons to repair the roads, and throw bridges over the Schelde below Oudenarde. The army was in motion at eight o'clock, and marched with such expedition, that by two in the afternoon the horse had reached the bridges, over which Cadogan and his detachment were passing. The enemy had posted seven battalions in the village of Heynem, situated on the banks of the Schelde, and the French household-troops were drawn up in order of battle on the adjacent plain, opposite to a body of troops under Major-General Rantzaw, who were posted behind a rivulet that ran into the river. The Duke de Vendome intended to

attack the confederates when one half of their army should have passed the Schelde: but he was thwarted by the Duke of Burgundy, who seemed to be perplexed and irresolute. This prince had ordered the troops to halt in their march to Gavre, as if he had not yet formed any resolution; and now he recalled the squadrons from the plain, determined to avoid a battle. Vendome remonstrated against this conduct, and the dispute continued till three in the afternoon, when the greater part of the allied army had passed the Schelde without opposition. Then the Duke of Burgundy declared for an engagement, and Vendome submitted to his opinion with great reluctance, as the opportunity was now lost, and the army unformed. Major-General Grimaldi was ordered to attack Rantzaw with the horse of the King's household, who, finding the rivulet marshy, refused to charge, and retired to the right. Meanwhile Cadogan attacked the village of Heynem, which he took, with three of the seven battalions by which it was guarded. Rantzaw passing the rivulet, advanced into the plain, and drove before him several squadrons of the enemy. In this attack the electoral Prince of Hanover, his late Majesty, Geo. II. charged at the head of Bulau's dragoons with great intrepidity. His horse was shot under him, and Colonel Laschky killed by his side. Divers French regiments were entirely broken, and a good number of officers and standards fell into the hands of the Hanoverians. The confederates continued still passing the river: but few or none of the infantry were come up till five in the afternoon, when the Duke of

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Argyle arrived with twenty battalions, which immediately sustained a vigorous assault from the enemy. By this time the French were drawn up in order of battle; and the allies being formed as they passed the river, both armies were engaged through the whole extent of their lines about seven in the evening. Europe had not for many years produced two such noble armies: above one hundred general officers appeared in the field, and two hundred and fifty colonels fought at the head of their respective regiments. The number of the French exceeded that of the allies by twelve thousand: but their generals were divided; their forces ill-disposed; and the men dispirited by the uninterrupted success of their adversaries. They seemed from the beginning averse to an engagement, and acted in hurry and trepidation. Nevertheless, the action was maintained until General D'Auverquerque and Count Tilly, who commanded on the left of the allies, obliged the right of the enemy to give ground; and the Prince of Orange, with Count Oxenstiern, attacked them in flank with the Dutch infantry. Then they began to give way, and retired in great confusion. The Duke de Vendome alighting from his horse, rallied the broken battalions, called the officers by name, conjured them to maintain the honor of their country, and animated the men with his voice and example. But, notwithstanding all his endeavours, they were forced back among the enclosures in great confusion. Some regiments were cut in pieces: others desired to capitulate; and, if the darkness had not interposed, their whole army would have been ruined. The night coming on, so that it became impossible to

distinguish friends from enemies, the two generals ordered the troops to cease firing, and the enemy took this opportunity of escaping, by the road which leads from Oudenarde to Ghent. The Duke de Vendome seeing the French forces flying in the utmost terror and precipitation, formed a rear-guard of about five-and-twenty squadrons, and as many battalions, with which he secured the retreat. To this precaution the safety of their army was entirely owing; for at day-break the Duke of Marlborough sent a large detachment of horse and foot, under the Lieutenant-Generals Bulau and Lumley, to pursue the fugitives: but the hedges and ditches that skirted the road were lined with the French grenadiers in such a manner, that the cavalry could not form, and they were obliged to desist. The French reached Ghent about eight in the morning, and marching through the city, encamped at Lovendegen on the canal. There they thought proper to cast up intrenchments, upon which they planted their artillery, which they had left at Gavre with their heavy baggage. About three thousand were slain on the field of battle: two thousand deserted; and about seven thousand were taken, including a great number of officers, together with ten pieces of cannon, above a hundred standards and colors, and four thousand horses. The loss of the allies did not amount to two thousand men; nor was one officer of distinction killed on their side during the whole engagement ¹⁰.

¹⁰ Among the officers who were engaged in this battle, old General D'Auverquerque and the Duke of Argyle distinguished themselves by the most extraordinary valor and activity.

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After the confederates had rested two days on the field of battle, a detachment was ordered to level the French lines between Ypres and the Lys: another was sent to raise contributions as far as Arras: they ravaged the country, and struck terror even into the city of Paris. While the allies plundered the province of Picardy, a detachment from the French army, under the Chevalier de Rozen, made an irruption into Dutch-Flanders; broke through the lines of Bervliet, which had been left unguarded, and made a descent upon the island of Cadzandt, which they laid under contribution.

§ XXXVI. The generals of the allies now undertook an enterprize, which, in the opinion of the French generals, favoured of rashness and inconsiderate self-sufficiency. This was the siege of Lisle, the strongest town in Flanders, provided with all necessaries, store of ammunition, and a garrison reinforced with one-and-twenty battalions of the best troops in France, commanded by Marechal de Boufflers in person. But these were not the principal difficulties which the allies encountered. The enemy had cut off the communication between them and their magazines at Antwerp and Sas-van-Ghent; so that they were obliged to bring their convoys from Ostend along a narrow causeway, exposed to the attack of an army more numerous than that with which they sat down before Lisle. On the thirteenth of August it was invested on one side by Prince Eugene, and on the other by the Prince of Orange-Nassau, Stadtholder of Friesland; while the Duke of Marlborough encamped at Helchin, to cover the siege. The

trenches were opened on the twenty-second day of August, and carried on with that vigor and alacrity which is always inspired by victory and success. The Dukes of Burgundy and Vendome being now joined by the Duke of Berwick, resolved, if possible, to relieve the place; and made several marches and counter-marches for this purpose. Marlborough, being apprized of their intention, marched out of his lines to give them battle, being re-enforced by a considerable body of troops from the siege, including Augustus King of Poland, and the Landgrave of Hesse, as volunteers: but the enemy declined an engagement, and the allies returned to their camp, which they fortified with an intrenchment. On the seventh day of September, the besiegers took by assault the counterscarp of Lisle, after an obstinate action, in which they lost a thousand men. The French generals continued to hover about the camp of the confederates, which they actually cannonaded; and the Duke of Marlborough again formed his army in order of battle: but their design was only to harass the allies with continual alarms, and interrupt the operations of the siege. They endeavoured to surprise the town of Aeth, by means of a secret correspondence with the inhabitants: but the conspiracy was discovered before it took effect. Then they cut off all communication between the besiegers and the Schelde, the banks of which they fortified with strong intrenchments, and a prodigious number of cannon; so that now all the stores and necessaries were sent to the camp of the confederates from Ostend. On the twenty-first day of September, Prince Eugene,

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who was in the trenches, seeing the troops driven by the enemy from a lodgement they had made on the counterescarp of the Tenaille, rallied and led them back to the charge: but being wounded over the left eye with a musket-shot, he was obliged to retire, and for some days the Duke of Marlborough sustained the whole command, both in the siege, and of the covering army. On the twenty-third, the Tenaille was stormed, and a lodgement made along the covered-way. Marechal Boufflers having found means to inform the Duke de Vendome that his ammunition was almost expended, this general detached the Chevalier de Luxemburgh, with a body of horse and dragoons, to supply the place with gunpowder, every man carrying a bag of forty pounds upon the crupper. They were discovered in passing through the camp of the allies, and pursued to the barrier of the town, into which about three hundred were admitted: but a great number were killed by the confederates, or miserably destroyed by the explosion of the powder which they carried.

§ XXXVII. The next attempt of the French generals was to intercept a convoy from Ostend. The Count de la Motte marched from Ghent, with about two-and-twenty thousand men, to attack this convoy, which was guarded by six thousand of the allies, commanded by Major-General Webb. This officer made such an admirable disposition by the wood of Wynendale, and received the enemy with such a close fire, that, after a very warm action, that lasted two hours, they retired in the utmost confusion, notwithstanding their great superiority in number,

leaving six thousand men killed upon the field of battle; the loss of the allies not exceeding nine hundred and twelve officers and soldiers. This was the most honorable exploit performed during the whole war, and of such consequence to the confederates, that if the convoy had been taken, the siege must have been raised. The Duke de Vendome ordered the dikes between Bruges and Newport to be cut, so as to lay the whole country under water, in hopes of destroying the communication between Ostend and the camp of the confederates; and, after a regular siege, he took Colonel Caulfield, and a body of British troops posted in the village of Leffinghen, by whose means the convoys had been forwarded to the Duke of Marlborough. On the twenty-second of October, Mareschal Boufflers desired to capitulate for the town of Lisle: next day the articles were signed: on the twenty-fifth the allies took possession of the place, and the Mareschal retired into the citadel with the remains of his garrison, which, from twelve thousand, was reduced to less than the half of that number. A negociation was begun for the surrender of the citadel: but Boufflers made such extravagant demands as were rejected with disdain. Hostilities were renewed on the twenty-ninth day of the month; and the Earl of Stair was detached to provide corn for the army in the districts of Furnes and Dixmuyde. During these transactions, Felt-Mareschal D'Auverquerque died at Rousselaer, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, after having, in above thirty campaigns, exhibited innumerable proofs of uncommon courage, ability, and moderation. The Duke de Vendome did not

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yet despair of obliging the confederates to abandon their enterprize: the French ministers at Rome and Venice publicly declared the allied army was cooped up in such a manner, that it must either raise the siege or be famished. The Elector of Bavaria, with a detachment of ten thousand men, marched to Brussels, and attacked the counterscarp with incredible fury; but was repulsed by the garrison, under the command of General Paschal, and retired with precipitation, when he understood that the Duke of Marlborough was in motion to relieve the place. This nobleman and Prince Eugene no sooner understood the danger to which Brussels was exposed, than they marched with the covering-army to the Schelde, which they passed on pontoons without opposition, notwithstanding the formidable works which the French had raised. They now abandoned them with precipitation, to the surprise of the confederates, who had laid their account with the loss of a thousand men in the attack. Having passed the river between Eskenaffe and Hauterive, as well as at other places, they marched to Oudenarde, where they received intelligence that the Elector had retreated. Then Prince Eugene returned to Lisle, and the Duke of Marlborough proceeded to Brussels, where he was received with joy and acclamation. He afterwards took post at Oudenarde, so as to maintain a communication with Prince Eugene.

§ XXXVIII. The besiegers having made lodgements and raised batteries on the second counterscarp of the citadel, sent a message to Boufflers, intimating, that if he would surrender before the opening

of the batteries, he should have an honorable capitulation; otherwise he and his garrison must be made prisoners of war. He chose to avoid the last part of the alternative: hostages were exchanged on the eighth day of December, and the articles signed on the tenth; when the Mareschal and his garrison marched out with the honors of war, and were conducted to Douay. In this great enterprize, spirit and perseverance made amends for want of foresight and skill, which was flagrant on the side of the confederates; yet their success was owing in a great measure to the improvidence and misconduct of the besieged. The French generals never dreamed that the allies would attempt any thing of consequence after the reduction of Lisle, considering the advanced season of the year, and therefore they returned to Paris, after having distributed their army into winter-quarters. But their indefatigable antagonists were determined to strike another stroke of importance before their forces should separate. On the twentieth day of December they invested the city of Ghent on all sides; and on the thirtieth, when the batteries were ready to open, the Count de la Motte, who commanded the garrison, desired to capitulate. On the third day of the next month he marched out with thirty battalions and sixteen squadrons, which were conducted to Tournay, while the Duke of Argyle, with six British battalions, took possession of the town and citadel. Then the enemy abandoned Bruges, Plafendahl, and Lessengen; and the generals of the allies, having settled the plan of winter-quarters,

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repaired to Holland, leaving the forces under the command of Count Tilly. The French King was confounded and dismayed at these conquests in the Netherlands. Nor was he easy on the side of Dauphiné: in spite of all the vigilance and activity of Villars, the Duke of Savoy made himself master of the important fortresses of Exilles, La Perouse, the valley of St. Martin, and Fenestrelles; so that by the end of the campaign he had secured a barrier to his own frontiers, and opened a way into the French provinces, after having made a diversion in favor of King Charles, by obliging the enemy to send a strong detachment from Roussillon to the assistance of Villars.

§ XXXIX. The campaign in Catalonia was productive of a great event. Count Guido de Staremberg arrived at Barcelona on the last day of April: but the Imperial troops brought from Italy by Admiral Leake did not land in time to relieve Tortosa, which the Duke of Orleans besieged and took, together with Denia, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war, contrary to the articles of capitulation. These losses, however, were abundantly made up to the allies by the conquest of Sardinia and Minorca. Sir John Leake, having taken on board a handful of troops, under the conduct of the Marquis d'Alconzel, set sail for Cagliari, and summoned the Viceroy to submit to King Charles. As he did not send an immediate answer, the Admiral began to bombard the city, and the inhabitants compelled him to surrender at discretion. The greater part of the garrison enlisted themselves in the service of Charles. The deputies of the states being assembled by
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the Marquis d'Alconzel, acknowledged that prince as their sovereign, and agreed to furnish his army with thirty thousand sacks of corn, which were accordingly transported to Catalonia, where there was a great scarcity of provision. Major-General Stanhope having planned the conquest of Minorca, and concerted with the Admiral the measures necessary to put it in execution, obtained from Count Staremberg a few battalions of Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese: at the head of these he embarked at Barcelona with a fine train of British artillery, accompanied by brigadier Wade and Colonel Petit, an engineer of great reputation. They landed on the island, about ten miles from St. Philip's fort, on the twenty-sixth of August, with about eight hundred marines, which augmented their number to about three thousand. Next day they erected batteries; and General Stanhope ordered a number of arrows to be shot into the place, to which papers were affixed, written in the Spanish and French languages, containing threats, that all the garrison should be sent to the mines, if they would not surrender before the batteries were finished. The garrison consisted of a thousand Spaniards and six hundred French marines, commanded by Colonel La Jonquiere, who imagined that the number of the besiegers amounted to at least ten thousand; so artfully had they been drawn up in sight of the enemy. The batteries began to play, and in a little time demolished four towers that served as out-works to the fort: then they made a breach in the outward wall, through which Brigadier Wade, at the head of the grenadiers, stormed a redoubt, with

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such extraordinary valor as struck the besieged with consternation. On the second or third day they thought proper to beat a parley, and capitulate, on condition, That they should march out with the honors of war: That the Spaniards should be transported to Murcia, and the French to Toulon. These last, however, were detained, by way of reprisal for the garrison of Denia. The Spanish governor was so mortified when he learned the real number of the besiegers, that on his arrival at Murcia he threw himself out of a window in despair, and was killed upon the spot. La Jonquiere was confined for life, and all the French officers incurred their master's displeasure. Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, to the amazement of all Europe, and the garrison of Port Fornelles having surrendered themselves prisoners to the Admirals Leake and Whitaker, the inhabitants gladly submitted to the English government, for King Philip had oppressed and deprived them of their privileges: General Stanhope appointed Colonel Petit governor of Fort St. Philip, and deputy-governor of the whole island. After this important conquest he returned to the army in Spain, where an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Tortosa finished the operations of the campaign.

§ XL. The British fleet not only contributed to the reduction of Minorca, but likewise over-awed the Pope, who endeavoured to form a league of the princes in Italy against the Emperor. This pontiff had manifested his partiality to the house of Bourbon in such a palpable manner, that his Imperial Majesty ordered Monsieur de Bonneval to march with

the troops that were in Italy, re-enforced by those belonging to the Duke of Modena, and invade the duchy of Ferrara. He accordingly took possession of Comachio and some other places, pretending they were allodial estates belonging to the Duke of Modena, and fiefs of the Emperor, to which the Holy see had no lawful claim. The viceroy of Naples was forbid to remit any money to Rome; and the council of the kingdom drew up a long memorial, containing the pretensions of his Catholic Majesty, which struck at the very foundation of the Pope's temporal power. His Holiness wrote a long remonstrance to the Emperor, on the injustice of those proceedings, and declared that he would assert this cause though he should lose his life in the contest. He forthwith began to raise an army, and revived a plan of forming a league among the princes and states of Italy for their mutual defence. Sir John Leake had received orders to bombard Civita-Vecchia, in resentment for the Pope's having countenanced the Pretender's expedition to Great-Britain: but as the Emperor and Duke of Savoy hoped to effect an accommodation with the Court of Rome, they prevailed upon the English admiral to suspend hostilities, until they should have tried the method of negotiation. The Marquis de Prie, a Piedmontese nobleman, was sent as ambassador to Rome; but the Pope would not receive him in that quality. Elated with the promises of France, he set the Emperor at defiance; and his troops having surprised a body of Imperialists, were so barbarous as to cut them all in pieces. The Duke of Savoy having ended the

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campaign, the troops of the Emperor, which had served under that prince, were ordered to march into the papal territories, and drove the forces of his Holiness before them, without any regard to number. Bologna capitulated; and Rome began to tremble with the apprehension of being once more sacked by a German army. Then the Pope's courage failed; he was glad to admit the Marquis de Prie as envoy from the Emperor. He consented to disband his new levies; to accommodate the Imperial troops with winter-quarters in the papal territories; to grant the investiture of Naples to King Charles; and to allow at all times a passage to the Imperial troops through his dominions. On the upper Rhine the electors of Bavaria and Hanover were so weak, that they could not undertake any thing of consequence against each other. In Hungary the disputes still continued between the Emperor and the malecontents. Poland was at length delivered from the oppression exercised by the King of Sweden, who marched into the Ukraine against the Czar of Muscovy, notwithstanding the submissions with which that monarch endeavoured to appease his indignation. During the course of this year the English merchants sustained no considerable losses by sea: the cruisers were judiciously stationed, and the trade was regularly supplied with convoys. In the West-Indies Commodore Wager destroyed the admiral of the galleons, and took the rear-admiral on the coast of Carthage. Had the officers of his squadron done their duty, the greatest part of the fleet would have fallen into his hands. At his return to Jamaica two of

his captains were tried by a court-martial, and dismissed from the service.

§ XLI. The court of England was about this time not a little disquieted, by the consequences of an outrage committed on the person of the Count de Matue of the Muscovite ambassador. He was publicly arrested at the suit of a laceman, and maltreated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to prison, where he continued until he was bailed by the Earl of Feversham. Incensed at this insult, he demanded redress of the government, and was seconded in his remonstrances by the ministers of the Emperor, the King of Prussia, and several other foreign potentates. The Queen expressed uncommon indignation against the authors of this violence, who were immediately apprehended, and orders were given to prosecute them with the utmost severity of the law. Matue repeated his complaints with great acrimony; and Mr. Secretary Boyle assured him, in the Queen's name, that he should have ample satisfaction. Notwithstanding this assurance, he demanded a pass for himself and family; refused the ordinary presents at his departure; and retired to Holland. From thence he transmitted a memorial, with a letter from the Czar to the Queen, insisting upon her punishing with death all the persons concerned in violating the law of nations upon the person of his ambassador. Such punishment being altogether inconsistent with the laws of England, the Queen and her ministry were extremely perplexed, and held several councils, to deliberate upon the measures proper to be taken on such an occasion. On the twenty-eighth day of October,

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Prince George of Denmark died of an asthma and dropsy, with which he had been long afflicted. He was a prince of an amiable rather than a shining character, brave, good-natured, modest, and humane, but devoid of great talents and ambition. He had always lived in harmony with the Queen, who, during the whole term of their union, and especially in his last illness, approved herself a pattern of conjugal truth and tenderness. At his death the Earl of Pembroke was created lord high-admiral, the Earl of Wharton promoted to the government of Ireland, and Lord Somers appointed president of the council. Notwithstanding these promotions of the Whig-noblemen, the Duke of Marlborough declined apace in his credit with the Queen, who privately consulted and reposed her chief confidence in Mr. Harley, though he had no visible concern in the administration.

§ XLII. The new parliament, in which the Whig-interest still preponderated, was assembled on the sixteenth day of November, when they were given to understand, by a commission under the great seal, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, the Lord-Treasurer, the Lord-Steward, and the Master of the Horse, were appointed to represent the person of her Majesty, whom decency would not permit to appear in the House so soon after the death of her consort. Sir Richard Onslow being chosen speaker of the Lower-House with the Queen's approbation, the Chancellor, in a speech to both Houses, recommended the vigorous prosecution of the war, telling them her Majesty hoped they

would enable her to make a considerable augmentation for preserving and improving the advantages which the allies had gained in the Netherlands: that she desired they would prepare such bills as might confirm and render the union effectual; and that if they would propose means for the advancement of trade and manufacture, she would take pleasure in enacting such provisions. Both Houses having presented addresses of condolence and congratulation, on the death of Prince George, and the success of her Majesty's arms during the last campaign, the Commons took cognizance of controverted elections, which were decided with shameful partiality for the Whig-faction. Then they proceeded to consider the different branches of the supply: they approved of an augmentation of ten thousand men, which was judged necessary for the more vigorous prosecution of the war; and they voted above seven millions for the service of the ensuing year. The Bank agreed to circulate two millions five hundred thousand pounds in Exchequer bills for the government, on condition that the term of their continuance should be prolonged for one-and-twenty years; and that their stock of two millions two hundred and one thousand one hundred and seventy-one pounds should be doubled by a new subscription. The two-thirds subsidy was appropriated for the interest of the money raised by this expedient.

§ XLIII. Great debates having arisen about Scottish elections, the House considered the petitions and representations that were delivered,

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touching the incapacity of the eldest sons of Scottish peers, excluded from sitting in the parliament of Great-Britain. Counsel being heard upon the subject, that incapacity was confirmed; and new writs were issued, that new members might be elected for the shires of Aberdeen and Linlithgow, in the room of William Lord Haddo, and James Lord Johnstown. Petitions were likewise presented to the House of Lords by some Scottish peers, concerning their right of voting, and signing proxies. After warm debates, the House, upon a division, determined that a Scottish lord created a peer of Great-Britain should no longer retain his vote in Scotland; and that the noblemen who were in the castle of Edinburgh had a right to sign proxies, after having taken the oaths to the government. The Scottish peers and commoners that sat in the British parliament were divided into two factions. The Duke of Queensberry was in great credit with the Queen and the Lord-Treasurer, by whose interest he was appointed secretary of State for Scotland. His influence in elections was so great, that all offices in that kingdom were bestowed according to his recommendation. He was opposed by the Dukes of Hamilton, Montrose, and Roxburgh, who were supported by the Earl of Sunderland and Lord Somers; so that the whole interest in that country was engrossed by one or other member of the ministry. A bill for a general naturalization of all protestants was brought into the House, and notwithstanding violent opposition

from the Tories, both among the Lords and Commons, was enacted into a law. The Whigs argued for this bill, as a measure that would encourage industry, improve trade and manufacture, and repair the waste of men which the war had occasioned: but one of their chief motives was to throw an addition of foreigners into the balance against the landed interest. The Tories pleaded, that a conflux of aliens might prove dangerous to the constitution: that they would retain a fondness for their native countries, and, in times of war, act as spies and enemies: that they would insinuate themselves into places of trust and profit; become members of parliament; and by frequent intermarriages contribute to the extinction of the English race: that they would add to the number of the poor, already so expensive; and share the bread of the laborers and tradesmen of England.

§ XLIV. An inquiry being set on foot in both Houses, concerning the late intended invasion in Scotland, Lord Haversham and the other Tory-members endeavoured to demonstrate, that proper precautions had not been taken for the security of that kingdom, even after the ministry had received undoubted intelligence of the Pretender's design: that since the attempt had miscarried, many persons of quality had been apprehended, and severely used by the government, on pretended suspicion of high treason; though, in all probability, the aim of the ministry, in confining those persons, was to remove all possibility of

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their opposing the court at the ensuing elections for members of parliament. These assertions were supported by many incontestable facts and shrewd arguments, notwithstanding which, the majority were so little disposed to find fault, that the inquiry issued in a joint address to the Queen, containing resolutions, That timely an effectual care had been taken to disappoint the designs of her Majesty's enemies, both at home and abroad. A bill, however, was brought into the House of Lords, under the title of "An act for improving the union of the two kingdoms." It related to trials for treason in Scotland, which by this law were regulated according to the manner of proceeding in England, with some small variation. The Scottish members opposed it as an encroachment upon the form of their laws; and they were joined by those who had laid it down as a maxim to oppose all the court-measures: nevertheless, the bill passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent. Yet, in order to sweeten this unpalatable medicine, the Queen consented to an act of grace, by which all treasons were pardoned, except those committed on the high-seas: an exception levelled at those who had embarked with the Pretender. Major-General Webb, who had been defrauded of his due honor, in a partial representation of the battle of Wynendale, transmitted by Cardonnel, secretary to the Duke of Marlborough, was now thanked by the House of Commons for the great and eminent services

which he performed in that engagement¹¹. This motion was made by the Tories; and the Whigs did not fail to procure a compliment of the same nature to the Duke of Marlborough, even before he returned to England. When the news of Ghent's being taken arrived, the Lords and Commons congratulated the Queen on this last effort of a glorious campaign; and the Duke, at his arrival, was thanked, in the name of the Peers, by the Lord Chancellor. As he was supposed to have brought over proposals of peace, the two Houses, in an address, desired the Queen would insist on the demolition of Dunkirk, which was a nest of pirates that infested the ocean, and did infinite prejudice to the commerce of England. The Queen promised to comply with their request. But she was not a little surprised at the next address they presented, humbly entreating, that she would have such indulgence to the hearty desires of her subjects, as to entertain thoughts of a second marriage. She told them, that the provision she had made for the protestant succession would always be a proof how much she had at heart the future happiness of the kingdom; but the subject of this address was of such a nature; that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular answer.

¹¹ Burnet. Daniel. Hist. of the D. of Marlborough. Mil. Hist. Tindal. Conduct of the Dukes of Marlborough. Feuquieres. Quincy. Lives of the Admirals. Hare. Voltaire.

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§ XLV. The laws having been found insufficient to punish capitally the authors of the insult offered to the Muscovite ambassador, a bill was brought into the House of Commons for preserving the privileges of ambassadors and other foreign ministers; and passed through both Houses: as did another, to prevent the laying of wagers relating to the public, a practice which had been carried to a degree of infatuation; and by which many unwary persons fell a sacrifice to crafty adventurers. On the fourteenth day of March the Commons voted the sum of one hundred and three thousand two hundred and three pounds, for the relief of the inhabitants of Nevis and St. Christopher's, who had suffered by the late invasion: and on the twenty-first day of April the parliament was prorogued. The Muscovite ambassador continued to write expostulatory letters to Mr. Secretary Boyle, who at last owned, that the laws of the kingdom did not admit of such punishment as he demanded. An information was tried in the court of Queen's-Bench for her Majesty against Thomas Morton, laceman, and thirteen other persons concerned in the insult, of which they were found guilty; and the special matter of the privileges of ambassadors was to be argued next term before the judges. Mean while, the Queen, by way of satisfaction to the Czar, condescended to make solemn excuses by her ambassador; to repair Matueof's honor by a letter, and indemnify him for all his costs and damages: concessions with which the Czar and his ambassador

declared themselves well satisfied. The convocation had been summoned, chosen, and returned with the new parliament: but as the old spirit was supposed to prevail in the Lower House, the Queen, by writ to the Archbishop, ordered him to prorogue it from time to time, until the session of parliament was finished.

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VD18 80025935